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## Contents


EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS ..... 607

EDITORIALS:
- No War With England. II. Our World Trade Rivalry ..... 610
- A Race Commission—A Constructive Plan ..... 612
- Teacher-Baiting: The New Sport ..... 613
- Those Good Old Days ..... 613

MEXICO—1921. V. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. By Paul Hanna ..... 614

THE BRITISH COAL STRIKE. By Harold J. Laski ..... 617

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN NOVELISTS. IV. WINSTON CHURCHILL. By Carl Van Doren ..... 619

A SHORT VIEW OF GAMALIELESE. By H. L. Mencken ..... 621

THE MOONEY CASE TODAY. By George P. West ..... 622

THE INFORMING SPIRIT. By Carlyle Ferren MacIntyre ..... 623

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter ..... 624

CORRESPONDENCE ..... 624

I SHOULD LIKE TO LIVE IN A BALLAD WORLD. By Eda Lou Walton ..... 626

PLAINT. By Virginia Woods Mackall ..... 626

BOOKS:
- On Fighting Japan. By David Starr Jordan ..... 626
- From Locke to Bentham. By William MacDonald ..... 629
- First Aid to Authors. By Donald Lemen Clark ..... 629
- Books in Brief ..... 630

DRAMA:
- Margaret Anglin. By Ludwig Lewisohn ..... 631

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION: MEXICO
- A Decree Establishing Free Ports in Mexico ..... 632
- The Reduction and Reorganization of the Army ..... 633
- Army Manifestos ..... 634
- The Organization of the Colony ..... 635
- Regulations for Members of the Colony ..... 636
- The New Secretary of Labor ..... 637



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TWO steps forward, and two only, President Harding took in his first message to Congress. He definitely discards the League of Nations and asks for a declaration of peace with Germany. These are substantial gains, but beyond that all is vague. Both camps claim that the President is with them, that the treaty will be eventually ratified in much amended form, that it will be discarded. The truth is, we are reliably informed, that ten days before the message was read Mr. Harding was for scrapping the whole treaty and that the Hoover-Hughes influence induced him to recede from that position, with the result of a document so obscure that sharply conflicting headlines in the daily press revealed the complete confusion of the editors as to what it meant. Emphatically, Mr. Harding is closely related to Mr. Facing-Both-Ways; equally true is the fact that he will take further positions only as he is forced into them by events or necessity. As for the treaty, we do not believe it can be ratified in any form. Mr. Viviani's visit, despite his enthusiastic characterization of its success, has been a failure. But he can at least report to Briand that the United States will take only a listless interest in the further coercion of Germany and will not act in the matter.

ON May 1 the curtain will rise for another act of the melodrama (so impossible that it sometimes seems like roaring farce) staged by the Allies in Germany under the title "Drawing Blood from a Stone." The expected refusal of Germany to pay the twelve billion gold marks that will then be owing will be the signal for France to step out in the leading role, while England, as the ingenue, twitters and pretends to understand less of what is going on than she does. At this writing the plan is to place at least the entire Ruhr region in the hands of an Allied receivership, which will take over the whole industrial output and sell it for the Allies' account. But receiverships are notoriously an expensive and ineffective method of administering property, and the new method will get us no farther than the old. The only hope lies in the development of a public opinion in America and England that will insist on a business-like treatment of a business proposition. Germany ought to pay every mark she can toward the restoration of France, but it is an industrial absurdity to prevent the revival of German trade and at the same time to expect that the country can raise an adequate indemnity. America has a right to speak, for the present hocus-pocus in Europe is as much a menace to the peace of the world as was ever German militarism.

THE collapse of the Triple Alliance strike in Great Britain settles nothing. It is a positive disaster. It indicates that the British public, like the public the world over, dulled from excessive emotion, is apathetic to fundamentals of right and fair-play; also that British labor needs further education and organization before it can put into effect its declared principles and policies. Now the hour of pitched battle is put off again, but the scarcely less devastating armed truce remains, and the sudden assumption of its old function which Lloyd George's bought Parliament has displayed does not offset the truth that nothing has really been settled, that suffering and bitterness remain. Great Britain continues a camp and Ian Hay writes in the New York *Times* of the government-recruited forces as "the new 100,000." So easily is enmity shifted from the Hun to the British worker! But the Government could still dispose of the issue within terms of reason by keeping its declared faith and abiding by the Sankey report. In a few months, or a few years at most, this situation, like Ireland, may have moved irrevocably beyond compromise.

THAT unquenchable comedian Judge Gary has walked down to the footlights again and joshed the simple public. He sheds tears like the carpenter and the crocodile over the poor workingman who unionizes himself and "becomes the industrial slave of the union"; he admits that in the wicked days of our grandfathers or some such there may have been a use for labor unions, for then labor was sometimes badly treated, but now—only union leaders have any need of unions. Why, the Judge runs on in his merry fashion, if labor unions had their way they would seek to influence public policies, elections, and even the conduct of the police!—a trespass upon the ancient and honorable preserves of the United States Steel Corporation and its fellows which those rollicking philanthropists of course simply must resist. As to the company for which Judge Gary is the jolly joker, it respects the unions with reservations: "We


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do not combat, though we do not contract or deal with, labor unions as such." The labor unions, he apparently means to say, are all right in their place—and their place is always somewhere else. What the Judge really believes in, he says, is publicity (we remember the Interchurch Report and its fate), regulation (decently safeguarded by industrial espionage), and reasonable control through Government agencies (such, we doubt not, as the Department of Justice and the Pennsylvania State Constabulary). If this, the Judge has the air of concluding with a flourish, be not reason and justice to all men concerned, make the most of it.

GOVERNOR MILLER continues to establish his reputation for originality, this time by appointing two Democrats to the new Transit Commission of three which is to deal with the pending transit problems of the metropolis. Of course if he were playing the game by custom and by right he must have put in at least two Republicans. As chairman for this body, over whose creation so violent a storm has raged, the Governor chose Mr. George McAneny, than whom no city ever had a more earnest, devoted, or faithful servant. To him the Governor added Major General John F. O'Ryan, a modest soldier who persistently refuses to capitalize in the prints an excellent war service as commander of the Twenty-seventh Division. Other appointments like that of the former comptroller of the City, William A. Prendergast, to the Public Service Commission, show that the Governor has really sought to place merit above partisanship—which makes it all the more regrettable that he forced through the Legislature the abominable Lusk anti-sedition bills, which far offset his achievement in saving six millions of dollars in the new budget—the first saving in years. As for the transit situation in New York, Mr. McAneny and his associates will have an almost insoluble problem before them, one that cannot be solved without calling down infinite abuse from one side or the other.

NOWHERE have the facts governing our present economic distress been more clearly presented than in the Federal Trade Commission's letter to President Harding, just made public, upon which he based the recommendations in his recent message for a Congressional investigation of living costs. Throughout this communication, in so many paraphrases and in such varying contexts that it may well be held the dominant note, appears the statement that the consumer has only in the slightest degree been reached by the alleged reduction in prices. Raw material prices have in many instances been greatly decreased, but nearly all benefit has been extracted en route to the final purchaser. This is what *The Nation* has asserted repeatedly in warning against the deceptive current propaganda concerning the reduction in living costs. That "the consumer's cost of living . . . is too high and must be reduced before renewed buying and normal volume of trade will restore business to healthful conditions" is the conclusion formed by the Commission. It mentions the high cost of coal, of rent, and of transportation as important factors in retarding such restoration. Other factors emphasized are the unwillingness of the retailer to bear his share of the loss, and the so-called Open Price Associations. These are organizations of manufacturers controlling certain essential commodities who limit competition among themselves, keep costs high, and combine with retailers in deliberate understanding that certain price levels shall be maintained. The Commission makes a series of vigorous recommendations which should have the careful attention of the public and of its representatives in Congress.

STRONGLY confirmatory is Secretary Hoover's demand for immediate reduction in transportation rates, while Chairman Clark of the Interstate Commerce Commission declares that any further increase in railway rates "will result in less revenue"—obviously already the case. The coal situation was months ago called to the attention of the public by Senator Calder as was the housing situation by Samuel Untermyer. Prompt reduction of passenger and freight rates, thorough coal production at cost to the consumer as its purpose and a nation-wide investigation and prosecution of the building industry of the character of the Lockwood investigation, are essential. Nor should the brazen increase in public utility rates which are being levied on the public throughout the land be permitted. The admission of President Thayer that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company could easily have paid the increased dividend which it is now disbursing at any time in the last ten years, contains the entire argument against unwarranted increases in telephone service rates. Essentials at cost is the just demand of the times. Congress must resolutely set itself to solve this problem, and the Republican Party ought to realize that the best way to hold its power is by going to the relief of the ultimate consumer.

CLASS hatred, not justice, is served when seventy-nine Industrial Workers of the World, including "Bill" Haywood, go behind Federal prison bars, some on sentences of twenty years, as a consequence of the United States Supreme Court's refusal to review their convictions. Largely because of the lowly industrial and social status of most of its members, the sincerity of their beliefs, the isolation of their lives, and many misconceptions of their philosophy of life, the I. W. W. have been peculiarly subject to persecution by the crowd hysteria of the so-called "respectable element" in this country. The I. W. W. convictions in 1918 were under war legislation now no longer in effect and on evidence that their lawyers declare was illegally obtained by the Department of Justice. The imprisonment of these men now can serve no practical end, but will embitter thousands against the judicial system of the country. Their case is another argument for a pardon of all political prisoners.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT once declared apropos of the Colombian treaty that "the payment can only be justified upon the ground that this nation has played the part of a thief or of a receiver of stolen goods." He was quite right. The payment will be an indemnity for Roosevelt's own action in, as he said, "taking" Panama. The suddenness with which we recognized and protected a Panaman revolution organized in the United States with the knowledge of American officials is in strange contrast to our more recent hesitation to recognize revolutionary Governments in Mexico and in Russia. Colombia has a just grievance against us, and it will do us honor if even at this late date we settle it. Yet—it is strange that a Republican Administration should be so insistent upon an act which is in effect penance for the deeds of an earlier Republican Administration, particularly when it is recalled that Lodge and others signed a report declaring the treaty "blackmail" and robbery when Mr. Wilson submitted it—how different things look when it is your own President who does it! Can the fact that American oil interests find the ill-feeling due to

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non-ratification of the treaty a hindrance to development of their business in Colombia have anything to do with this sudden respect for our national honor, and are there new concessions in the offing?

JAPAN, with its usual habit of keen-eyed observation, has apparently learned something from the recent war, and is convinced that overpopulation is the root of most international evils. The Japanese family now averages eight members and the population of the country is increasing at the rate of 700,000 a year. In view of these facts and of the exceedingly limited area of Japan, the Government feels strongly that only by a speedy and nation-wide establishment of the policy of birth control can a war of aggression be avoided in the next generation. As a preliminary step toward this end, Dr. Kato, head of the Department of Medical Affairs under the Japanese Government, is studying the birth-control movement in the United States, Holland, England, and Germany. Here in New York, Mrs. Margaret Sanger has received visits from twenty-five representatives of various departments of the Government sent out to study the question. Dr. Kato reports that the Japanese Parliament is now convinced of the wisdom of national birth control and is concerned only with the methods of teaching it to the people. Sooner or later the rest of the world will have the intelligence to follow suit. At present the United States with laws defining discussion of this problem as "obscene" brings up the rear of the procession.

A NOTABLE event is the launching of the People's Legislative Service in Washington with Robert M. La Follette as chairman and Basil M. Manly as director. No recent departure promises as much. If it can avoid obvious pitfalls, create adequate financial support, and make a reputation for absolutely unbiased facts it will render a great service to Congressmen and Senators, press and public. Already the Service has the indorsement of all the leading Progressives in Congress. There is to be a bureau of research and information consisting of three divisions: first, a legislative division, to analyze and keep watch over all pending legislation, with a view to warning the public against improper bills; secondly, a statistical division, to compile the information required by Senators and Representatives to enable them to make effective fights in Congress; and finally, and perhaps most important of all, a publicity division, to give accurate and unbiased information as to what is going on in Congress to all who seek it. It is not to be a lobby nor a source of propaganda, but a source of facts and therefore an organization around which the free men of Congress should gradually coalesce. The address of the Service is 814 Southern Building, Washington.

THE recommendations made by President Harding in his first message to Congress in regard to our soldiers and sailors disabled in the European War are deserving of early and cordial attention. We must not allow these young men to suffer, and their youth and opportunity to slip by, while bureaucrats flounder in red tape. Mr. Harding suggests, on the advice of a volunteer committee that has looked into the subject for him, that the chief difficulty is lack of unity among the various services. He therefore recommends one directing head under whom shall be centralized hospitalization, vocational training, war insurance, rehabilitation, and pensions. This sounds like good business policy, and that is what is needed. Our duties to the victims of war do constitute, as President Harding says, a "sacred obligation"—one that calls not merely for "generous gratitude," but for prompt and effective action.

WHEN Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the Cleveland meeting of the National League of Women Voters called upon the persons present to begin a movement to end war she did something which she and other members of the League should have done long ago but for which she should now nevertheless receive the fullest credit. Skeptical as we feel toward the notion that women will be found to have interests or impulses very widely different from those of men where public matters are concerned, we believe that women—all the late evidences of war hysteria among them to the contrary notwithstanding—not only ought to be more anxious than men to see wars ended, but actually are. The mothers and wives of men will not forever be deceived into thinking that mass murder is necessary or that the sacrifice therein of sons and husbands is an honorable lot of women. The leaders of women cannot be forgiven if they omit a single effort to crystallize and capitalize the reaction against war which is now setting in. Let the women voters of this country make themselves heard and the programs for a larger army and a larger navy will melt like snow in summer; let them realize how imperialistic schemes spell the murder of youth in the interests of privileged old men and there will be one more nation at home minding its own business.

THE death of John Daniel in New York on April 17 deprives America and England of a personage than whom the two nations could better have spared many a better man. He had lived in Africa, he had lived in London, he had lived in New York, and in a sense he deserves to be called a citizen of the world; but something in his free spirit made him unable ever to accept the postulates and accouterments of civilization. Like others in our generation, however, he was constrained to live among cities and to be often oppressed by crowds. Not a man in years can be said more truly to have died from the disease of burdensome humanity; John Daniel was a martyr to that disease none the less because he was not a man himself but the gaped-at gorilla at the circus.

NO more appropriate or deserved tribute for the highest kind of service to mankind can be bestowed than the gift of a gram of radium to Madame Marie Curie which President Harding will formally present on May 20 as the gift of American women to the foremost living scientist of their sex. The $100,000 gift of this mysterious element will permit the continuation of researches begun by her and her husband, Paul Curie, nearly a generation ago, which won for them jointly the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1903. After his death, Madame Curie carried on the work alone, succeeding him as professor of physics and director of the physical laboratories at the Sorbonne. It is to her that the world owes probably the greatest achievement in physical chemistry in the twentieth century, and a contribution uniquely twofold. For most scientific discoveries are in the first instance abstract and only indirectly and subsequently beneficial to humanity. Madame Curie's researches not only altered fundamental conceptions of chemistry and physics, but opened up for the allied science of medicine a new and valuable form of therapy.

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# No War With England

## II. Our World Trade Rivalry

THE facts about the United Kingdom from which all other considerations rise have to do with the sustenance of its population. On the British Isles live some fifty million souls, in an area less than half that of the State of Texas. They cannot feed themselves with the crops and animals they raise; if they were confined to their own resources a large part of the population would have to emigrate or starve. Imports of food into the United Kingdom have recently ranged in value from a billion to two and a half billion dollars every year.

These imports must be paid for. They cannot be paid for with other raw materials. Britain has few agricultural products to export. She has few animal products. She does not produce in any quantity valuable commodities like lumber, cotton, wool, silk, rubber, hides. Her mineral resources are limited. She has no copper, nickel, or precious metals, and little mineral oil, tin, lead, or zinc. Just two sizable deposits account for by far the greater part of her natural wealth—coal and iron. But if she exported all the coal and iron she can economically mine, they would not pay her annual bill for foods and other articles which civilized life demands.

She is forced, therefore, to pay by services—principally by manufacturing. She takes part of her coal, all her iron ore, and some imported ore besides, and uses them for making steel and its products, a large share of which she exports. But of course she does not stop there. Nearly ten times as many of her people are engaged in manufacturing and trade as in agriculture and fisheries. She draws in raw materials from all over the world, makes them into finished products, and ships many of them out again. This process greatly enlarges the value of her imports, but it increases the value of her exports even more. Britain's overseas trade is her very life. Whoever interferes with her sources of supply, with her foreign markets, or with the transportation between, strikes at her heart. With all her manufactured exports, moreover, the United Kingdom does not pay for what she receives. There is still a balance to be accounted for—a balance "unfavorable" in the terminology of economists, amounting in normal years to about seven hundred million dollars. This balance is chiefly settled in two ways: by the income on Britain's foreign investments, and by the freight paid for the carriage of goods in British ships.

To say all this is trite; yet it is here that we must begin any closer examination of the subject. The fact that the United Kingdom is and must be, so long as her world position endures, a manufacturing nation, need not lead to enmity against anyone, under certain conditions. Nations who sell raw materials to her will not wish to fight her. Customers who need and buy her manufactured products will not wish to injure her. Neither will anyone who wants to borrow of her capital, or any merchant who ships his goods in her fleet. Other manufacturing nations may be competitors, but if they make goods which Britain buys, and buy other goods which Britain makes, they will be friendly. To all those who stand in such relations to Britain, her world commerce is a guaranty of peace.

Suppose, however, there were a nation which stood in a different relation to her. This nation, let us say, had been sending necessary raw materials to England, but now cut them off. It had been buying British manufactures, but was now ceasing to do so. It increased the use of its own raw materials on the part of its own manufacturers, who not only seized the former British market in their own country, but began to compete with British manufacturers abroad as well. It strove to take from Britain her sources of raw material. In addition to this, it began to supplant Britain as a foreign investor, and it substituted its own ships for British ships on the high seas. Such a nation would be a commercial rival of the sort most dangerous to the United Kingdom. If the development of this rival were slow, Britain might adjust herself comfortably to the new state of affairs, but in proportion as it was rapid and aggressive, the shock to Britain would be severe.

Where does England buy her food? During the war, the United States led in the supply of grains. Canada and Argentina were close seconds. Before the war, however, we did not export so much, because there were more ships available for long hauls, and Russia was open to trade. British India sent much wheat, and Canada, Argentina, and Russia were often far ahead of us in other grains as well. We have long led in British imports of ham, but in bacon only during the war. The United States normally supplies only an inconsiderable part of England's beef and mutton, which come chiefly from Argentina and Australia. Since the war, our importance as a source of food has diminished. During 1920 we exported considerably more wheat to England than in 1918, but only a third as much wheat flour, and the exports of both have shrunk enormously in recent months. Our shipments of beef to the United Kingdom have fallen from five hundred million pounds in 1918 to eleven million in 1920. Exports of bacon to Britain have been cut in half, and we shipped only a quarter as much ham in 1920 as two years before. In short, our subordinate prewar status is returning with interest. And we shall constantly become less important as food producers. The census of 1920 showed for the first time less than half our population in rural districts. We are now about to hasten the process by imposing a protective tariff on farm products, which will exclude foreign grain from our markets, force it upon Britain and other food-importing nations, and so decrease our exports to them and their dependence on us. Before many years, if present tendencies continue, Britain will not find us indispensable as a source of food, nor we her as a food market. We shall rather compete with her in buying our own supply abroad.

The industries depending on coal, iron, and steel are the most important in Great Britain. She mines her own coal, and has enough left over from her domestic needs to export. We have become large exporters of coal also, and are competing with Britain in many of the foreign coal markets, especially in South America, which she was obliged to neglect during the war. Britain buys some iron ore abroad, but it comes from Spain rather than from the United States. In the steel and all subsidiary industries we are increasingly competitors. British steel production was enlarged by half during the war, and she is pressing for more markets. Our steel capacity is constantly growing also, and we are more than ever turning our eyes abroad

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for sales. In spite of her increased production, Britain lost during the war about 70 per cent of her iron and steel exports to her colonies and South America, because of the necessities in France, and we stepped into these markets. Now she is fighting to regain the trade. We are both striving to fill the gap left by the cessation of German exports. In tractors, agricultural machinery, automobiles, and machinery of all sorts, competition between British and American manufacturers is growing keener, while each group is increasing its domination of its home market.

In respect to other metals Great Britain is less fortunately situated, but in none except copper and nickel is she to any large degree dependent on the United States. Even copper she can get in Chile, South Africa, Mexico, Spain, Australia, and elsewhere. She could not compete with us in foreign markets for manufactured copper products without buying our crude copper, but she could get enough for her domestic requirements elsewhere if it became necessary—that is, as long as she controlled the seas. The United Kingdom has political and commercial control of over half the world's tin—chiefly in Straits Settlements, Bolivia, and Chile. Lead she can get from Spain and Australia, zinc from Australia and Italy. Other essential minerals she controls in various parts of the world.

Next to metal products, Britain's most important industry is textile manufacturing. Over a million persons are employed in it. It accounts for about half the value of her imports of raw materials, and a third of her exports of manufactured articles. The largest section of it is devoted to cotton, although the United Kingdom cannot raise an ounce of raw cotton. Her supplies come, normally, 75 per cent from the United States, 17 per cent from Egypt, and 3 per cent from India. The manufactured product goes all over the world—except to the United States. Our own cotton mills have been rapidly increasing their production, with the result that they are using up more of the American supply, and competing with British export trade. In 1916 our mills took 20 per cent of our entire cotton crop, as compared with 12 per cent in 1913. In 1918 we supplied only 65 per cent of Britain's imported raw cotton. Much more cotton was manufactured in 1920 than in 1918. Although we exported not quite a third more raw cotton to the United Kingdom in 1920 than two years earlier, we exported more than twice as many cotton manufactures to the world as in the former year—especially to Britain's large markets in the Orient. So threatening to England's spindles is our increased consumption of our raw cotton that she has taken steps to enlarge its growth in Egypt, India, and South Africa. Here we see the gradual withdrawal of our raw material from Britain's industry and the injection of our manufactures into her markets. This tendency is all the more serious because British cotton exporters are also meeting more competition from Japan.

Great Britain does not depend on the United States for raw wool, which she receives normally from Russia, Australia, New Zealand, and South America. Of much of this supply she has commercial control, which on occasion has been converted into monopoly. The United States also is largely dependent on these foreign resources, since we import many times as much raw wool as we export. We are therefore competitive purchasers of this product. The United Kingdom sells much of her woolen and worsted cloth in the United States, but our growing woolen industry is encroaching on this market. The tariff will further weaken this link between the two Anglo-Saxon nations.

We do buy much of our linen from Great Britain, and she sells a large proportion of it to us. She does not manufacture enough silk for her domestic needs, and her market is open to our silk mills. Neither nation produces large crops of flax or raw silk. In these two trades, therefore, our interests do not clash—though the products themselves are not of the most important. The chemical supply from Germany which was cut off by the war was replaced by home manufacture as far as possible in both nations. England receives most of her hides and leather from other countries than the United States, and her timber and wood from Russia, Scandinavia, and Canada as well as from this country. With the rapid depletion of our forest areas and the reopening of trade with Russia our supply will steadily become a less important factor in foreign trade.

The questions of shipbuilding and merchant marine, of oil, and of finance, are so crucial that separate articles must be devoted to them. But from this briefest of surveys it is possible to picture the background of Anglo-American relations. As long as we sell Great Britain millions of bales of cotton, bushels of wheat, and barrels of oil, and buy her woolens and some of her metal products, there is little acute danger. But this margin of mutual interest is rapidly shrinking. We are in sober truth approaching the status of the hypothetical nation whose interests Great Britain must regard as hostile to her own. American banks and commercial associations are daily issuing statements which show that we are ceasing to be a self-supporting country as far as food and raw materials are concerned; that we are producing a "surplus" of manufactures which we must sell to foreign purchasers. In 1920 we exported nearly three billion dollars' worth of goods more than we imported. Of these exports, 34 per cent were crude materials and raw foods; 66 per cent were manufactured products. Of our imports, about 66 per cent were crude materials and raw foods, and 34 per cent manufactured products. Over one hundred associations of manufacturers for foreign trade have been registered under the Webb-Pomerene Act, each selling a different product, each pressing vigorously against European exporters throughout the world in fast-growing competition.

All European industrial nations, to be sure, have an excess of manufactures to sell abroad, but to none of them is their overseas trade so vital as it is to Britain. None of them is in anything like so strong a position. And with none of them is the competition of American manufacturers so direct. There is no escaping the fact that even today the foremost commercial rivals in the world are Great Britain and the United States. There is no escaping the fact that the development of both is intensifying that rivalry. The sketch that we have drawn does not threaten any immediate trouble. Tendencies of this sort could go on for years, and adjustments could be made which would enable the two nations to avoid a collision. The background would be appropriate for war only in case some bold stroke in the foreground brought the opposing forces to a dramatic issue. We do not wish to over-emphasize its importance; but it must be borne in mind in our future discussions of more pressing matters. It may all too easily become a setting for the tragedy we wish to avoid.*

* Next week's article in this series on the relations between England and the United States will deal with merchant marine problems.

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# A Race Commission—A Constructive Plan

THERE is no more useful paragraph in President Harding's message than that which deals with the race question because he has several constructive proposals to make. In the first place, he comes out against the abomination of lynching. In the second, he dwells on the suggestion that some of the difficulties of the race problem, might be ameliorated by a humane and enlightened consideration of it, a study of its many aspects, and an effort to formulate, if not a policy, at least a national attitude of mind calculated to bring about the most satisfactory possible adjustment of relations between the races, and of each race to the national life. One proposal is the creation of a commission embracing representatives of both races to study and report on the entire subject. The proposal has real merit. I am convinced that in mutual tolerance, understanding, charity, recognition of the interdependence of the races, and the maintenance of the rights of citizenship lies the road to righteous adjustment.

This is in marked contrast, of course, to the attitude of the Wilson administration, which sought, ostrich-like, to evade the whole question—after instituting segregation in the several departments at Washington. Now President Harding senses the possibility of at least obtaining the scientific facts. Who knows, for instance, whether there is or is not an undue criminality among the Negroes? Who knows all the facts about the actual economic status of the Negro? We have had our eyes opened to the existing peonage by the horrible murders, now declared to be eighteen, of Negro slaves upon the plantation of John Williams of Jasper County, Georgia. How much of this is there? Even the census helps little. Hence the very first step toward a readjustment of race relationships should be the obtaining of all the information necessary to sound and scientific judgments unaffected by theories, or prejudices.

Of course *The Nation* approves and commends Mr. Harding's proposal. Just eight years ago its present editor laid before President Wilson, then newly in office, this very plan to which Mr. Harding now leans. The approach to Mr. Wilson was in cooperation with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a printed plan was laid before the President, after consultation with many different kinds of Northerners and Southerners. Mr. Wilson would not approve; he rejected it for fear that it might offend the feelings of the South, despite the fact that it was suggested that a Southerner be the chairman. Because the program has never been published before and the scheme seems to us as practical as it did eight years ago, we print it here in the hope that it will commend itself to President Harding. It is as follows:

### A Proposal for a National Race Commission

(To be appointed by the President of the United States)

#### Plan and Purpose (May, 1913)

To be modeled on lines of President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission and President Taft's Industrial Commission.

To be financed by private subscriptions to the extent of $50,000 or $60,000.

*Program*:—A non-partisan, scientific study of the status of the Negro in the life of the nation, with particular reference to his economic situation. This study to include

A. Physical health and efficiency. B. Homes and property. C. Work and wages. D. Education. E. Religious and moral influences. F. Citizenship, legal status, and participation in government.

#### Organization and Membership

The proposed President's Race Commission should consist of fifteen persons, five Southerners, of whom one shall preferably be the Chairman; five Northerners, and five members of the Negro race. It is suggested that they be selected from the following lists:

##### Southerners

Dr. James H. Dillard, Pres. Jeanes Fund and Director of the Slater Fund, of New Orleans.

Mrs. Desha Breckinridge, of Lexington, Kentucky.

Alfred H. Stone, of Mississippi.

Rev. Dr. J. G. Snedecor, of Alabama, Secretary of the Colored Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church, South.

Hon. James H. Slayden, Congressman from Texas.

##### Northerners

Jane Addams, of Chicago.

Hon. A. E. Pillsbury, ex-Attorney General of Massachusetts.

Prof. J. E. Spingarn, of New York.

Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, Illinois.

##### Colored

Major R. R. Moton, of Hampton Institute.

Prof. Kelley Miller, of Howard University.

Rev. Archibald Grimke, of Washington, D. C.

John Mitchell, Jr., Editor the *Planet*, Richmond, Va.

W. Ashbie Hawkins, Attorney-at-Law, Baltimore, Maryland.

#### Methods of Work

They shall aim:

A. To systematize, evaluate, and make available material already collected. B. To collect further general material by questionnaires and reports covering the nation. C. To make certain local intensive studies by means of experts. D. To publish a report which shall indicate (1) the progress of the Negro during his half century of freedom; (2) the obstacles to progress in the past and future; and (3) practical suggestions as to his future welfare. This report to be submitted by the President to Congress if he so desires.

#### Cooperating Agencies

The following organizations or groups, interested in the Negro or in the "Negro problem," should cooperate:

(1) The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations.

(2) Southern agencies: The University Commission on Southern Race Questions; the Southern Sociological Congress; the Southern Education Association, Nashville; the Y. M. C. A. international committee in the South (Weatherford); Social workers, like Little of Louisville; college teachers of the Negro like Hammond of Paine College, Augusta; the two Phelps-Stokes fellows on the Negro in the Universities of Georgia and Virginia.

(3) Negro agencies: National Business Men's League and other business organizations; colleges like Atlanta, Fisk, Wilberforce; industrial schools like Hampton and Tuskegee; religious, fraternal, and other organizations; women's clubs.

(4) Independent organizations, like the National League on Urban Conditions of the Negro, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, etc.

(5) General funds: Jeanes, Slater, Southern Education, General Education, Miner, Peabody, Phelps-Stokes, etc.

(6) Government agencies, such as Department of Education, etc., and trained sociologists and statisticians.

We sincerely believe that if such a race commission could be instituted it would be a great step forward in the history of the Negro race in America provided only that it was properly manned and managed; and that it would be found to be of very great economic and spiritual benefit to the masses of colored and white people in the South.

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# Teacher-Baiting: The New Sport

TEACHER-BAITING is becoming one of the most popular sports of our State legislatures. It is cheaper than automobiling and requires less skill than one-old-cat; it is more refinedly cruel than a cocking main or a dog fight, and yet is not against the law; it is as safe as shooting skylarks, or stoning humming birds, because the victims haven't a chance in the world to defend themselves. They have already been reduced in self-respect, and the respect of others, by low salaries; they have had their individuality and spontaneity crushed by standardized curricula. It is easy to attack such brain and conscience as happily survive among them.

The first rule of the sport is to require an oath which singles teachers out as a particularly dangerous and unreliable class, and subjects them to the suspicion of pupils and parents—thus, of course, increasing their influence and usefulness. Through the efforts of gallant sportsmen of the American Legion, a law to this effect has been passed recently in Oklahoma. But the essence of the sport is best seen in legislation proposed in California and passed in New York (although, at this writing, not yet signed by the Governor), whereby it would be illegal for a teacher to advocate, or *believe in*, any change in government by lawful means. In sponsoring this legislation Senator Lusk, the celebrated heresy-hunter of New York, said:

> Teachers who are paid out of public funds to instruct school children have no right either to believe in, or to advocate changes in the State or national government. I do not deny that men and women have the right to advocate governmental changes by peaceful means, but they have not the right to do it while they subsist on public funds.

There is at least one thing to be said in favor of that view. Legislators as well as school teachers "subsist on public funds." Therefore they could not advocate any change in government, and the law that Senator Lusk himself proposes in regard to teachers would be impossible. But if teacher-baiting is to become a broad, national, and democratic sport, uniform rules ought to be adopted. We propose, therefore, that five times daily every teacher shall face the Past, and kissing the Book of Lusk shall repeat:

1. I swear that I do not believe in any change in the State or national government.
2. I swear that I do not believe in any change or progress in political science.
3. I swear that I do not believe in any change or advancement in any other branch of knowledge.
4. I swear that I do not believe in any change or improvement in the human race.
5. I swear that I do not believe in any change in anything.

This, we feel, is more comprehensive and logical than any law or proposal so far, and is calculated to eliminate among teachers the last vestige of ideas, ambition, or hope. It is certain to reduce pupils to a similar state, and thus in a few happy years to transform us into a nation of wooden Indians among whom Senator Lusk will naturally take his place as Grand Imperial Wizard of the Order of Blockheads. And then it will no longer be necessary to bait our teachers; for they will have been turned into squeaking manikins, croaking all day before lifeless classes: "Change not, progress not, aspire not! Think nothing, dare nothing! Every stupidity that is, is right—and Senator Lusk is its Prophet!"

# Those Good Old Days

IN these wild days, says a sage of our time, young men call out "Hello" when they meet young ladies, and do not blush; they address them over the telephone in the same vulgar way, and the young ladies do not blush either. Both sexes jest and romp in unseemly fashions; they keep strange hours and dance to strange measures and on subterranean occasions drink strange beverages. Our grandfathers and grandmothers behaved quite otherwise, avers the sage. Yes, but their grandfathers constantly complained to them of the decay of good manners that had followed the Civil War, and pointed to the more decent days of their own youth—to the days of the early century when there were three-bottle men under the table at the end of every dinner and when the Prince Regent in England set the mode for the domestic virtues of the polite world among Anglo-Saxons. Lord Byron, a modest man in his way, was shocked at the waltz and thought things had been better in the good old days, and yet a hundred years before him Pope in London hardly less than Cotton Mather in Boston had bewailed the loss of simplicity and sobriety out of the world. Go back as far as you will and the accusing hands of sages point further still into the past when things were better. Medieval poets sang the virtues of the Roman Empire, but under the empire itself Juvenal remembered the republic. The imagination of Greece mounted up age by age to Homer, and he perpetuated legends of a long antiquity. Adam must have told his grandchildren of the superior proprieties of Eden; and like enough our earliest lake-dwelling ancestors often warned their young of the degeneration which had gone on since the anthropoids came down from their arboreal habitations.

For our part we do not find in history any adequate consolation for the praisers of times past. The rank and file of the virtues have not greatly changed, so far as we can see, during the comparatively few years in the life of the race over which the memory of man runs. All that appears is a certain pendulum swing from one repression or indulgence to another, reaction setting in whenever the virtues or vices of an age begin to bore it. Instead of repining that the present generation is unmitigably naughty, we observe that drunkenness throughout the world is pretty certainly on the decline and that the improving status of women bids fair to make them able to look out for themselves—a condition which we candidly prefer to all the chivalry that ever was invented. What worries us is not the age itself but the fear that its hilarities portend a reaction in the direction of insipid, smug propriety. The dour Commonwealth of Cromwell begot the Restoration, and that in turn the bourgeois reaction of the early eighteenth century. At the end came the Napoleonic eruption, the regency of the fat gentleman of fifty in England, and as an inevitable consequence the Victorian decorum. Now we feel ourselves at the end of the swing in the other direction; the sweep toward naughtiness is slowing up, for all the world is talking about it; almost before we shall be aware, and before we can do anything to prevent it, back we shall go. In a little while our children, more quickly susceptible than we to the new movement, will be looking with pained eyes upon the frivolities of their elders—and we shall be talking of the good old days before the blight set in upon us and carried us away from polite vice to violent virtue.

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# Mexico—1921

## V. Relations with the United States

By PAUL HANNA

International politics today are oil politics.—Premier Briand.

To promote their vast design these oil magnates are capable of starting revolutions in Mexico, instigating civil wars in Asia, or setting fire to Europe and the world to crush a competitor.—*Le Pétrole*, Paris, January, 1921.

MEXICO'S relations with the United States, therefore, are her relations with the great rival oil corporations in the Tampico and adjoining petroleum regions. If the Administration of President Obregon can placate the oil companies the United States will enjoy peace and profitable trade with Mexico henceforth. If the oil companies remain obdurate and hostile then the press agent, trained bandit, and professional revolutionist will tighten their grip upon the scruff of our sovereign necks and lead us straight into bloody war and the conquest of Mexico.

To conquer Mexico would be comparatively easy—from the club arm-chairs and the editorial sancta thousands of miles from the burning mesa—and in harmony with innumerable precedents. Mexico is used to being conquered, and Uncle San is not unused to sharing in the conquest. But in 1847 we were fighting for real estate; we knew when we had won and, roughly, how much we had won. In this second go at our southern neighbor we should be drawn by the lure of a different prize. Oil! And oil is very slippery. How many Americans realize that a second glorious war with Mexico, accompanied by the usual suffering, death lists, bond issues, and higher taxes, may bring "under the flag" nothing more precious than a few miles of geysers gushing salt water! Well after well is turning to salt water in the Tampico field. The sun rises upon them blowing 10,000 to 40,000 barrels of heavy petroleum daily. At nightfall, and permanently thereafter, they blow nothing but salt water. While I was in Mexico newspapers reported that the Corona Company had completed a new pipe line to its prize gusher, at a cost of several million dollars. And the same week they reported that the prize gusher had "gone into salt." At Laredo I talked with Americans just up from Tampico who confirmed the story of the Corona disaster. Our cause for war with Mexico lies upon the surface of subterranean lakes; natural gas drives it through the drilled opening into the tanks of the exploiters. After the oil comes salt water, of which the seas are full and for which nobody would start a war.

While they last, however, these Mexican oil wells are the richest in the world. And fresh pools are still being struck to compensate for those that turn to salt. Into the ears of exploiters already flushed with enormous profits and the lust for greater gain the siren tongue of rumor whispers that Mexico's oil fields have hardly been tapped as yet. To one syndicate of world-wide fame its principal geologist is said to have reported that much of Mexico is but an earthy crust above a sea of petroleum! Tranquil readers may scoff, but in the feverish El Dorado of oil these tales are believed and acted upon.

With so much in hand and so much more in prospect, and supported by the modern world's ravenous demand for more and more oil, it is not surprising that the exploiting corporations should come to regard themselves as a rival sovereignty within the borders of Mexico. Ten years of revolution, moreover, gave the invading capitalists both pretext and opportunity to flout the laws and decrees of successive Administrations or to denounce them before the world as the looting devices of adventurous upstarts. In this sinister light the American people are asked to regard that provision of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 which reaffirms the Government's title to all deposits of oil, gas, minerals, etc. The retroactive application of that clause, decreed by Carranza and still in effect, has been especially attacked by the oil interests as a just cause for military intervention by the United States. I am convinced that the Obregon Administration will annul that retroactive application. I am convinced also that the oil interests know it will be annulled. But I doubt if that will satisfy them, since their real desire is for a right of way to the still undisclosed oil deposits and not a simple acknowledgment of title to their present rich holdings.

It has been carefully concealed from the American people that land ownership in Mexico has never, since the Spaniards came there, carried with it any title to the sub-soil deposits or any right to exploit them. To the soil and its contents three kinds of titles—always separate—are granted under the Spanish practice. There are, first, pastural titles, granted to stock raisers exclusively; second, agricultural titles, granted to soil tillers exclusively; third, mining titles, procurable only from the Federal Government by persons desiring to prospect for clearly specified kinds of ore, gas, oil, coal, or asphalt. Owners of grazing or agricultural lands have always had to recognize the state's ownership of everything under the surface; and the Constitution of 1917 reaffirms that principle. Mining laws of some American States once a part of Mexico are still based on that principle.

In Kern County, California, the simple right to prospect for oil on 160 acres of public land was recently sold at auction. Newspaper reports state that the highest bidder was Edward L. Doheny, owner of the Huasteca Oil Company, dominating corporation of the Mexican oil field. For this right merely to prospect for oil Mr. Doheny offers nearly $500,000. In addition he agrees that the Government shall receive 25 per cent of all the oil taken out by his enterprise. The point is this: In an American field, where the richest wells produce only 1,500 barrels of oil daily, Mr. Doheny offers $500,000 and a quarter of his prospective output for the mere right to search for oil; in Mexico the same Mr. Doheny revels in a field where the wells gush from 10,000 to 50,000 barrels daily, yet his company declares it is being robbed because the Mexican Government tries to collect a reasonable tax on the selling price and to reassert its unquestionable title to oil not yet discovered. Extremely pertinent to this issue is the following declaration by George W. Dithridge, of Hollis, Long Island, on the recognized right and practice of oil taxation:

Fifty-five years ago I was president of the Grant Well Company, owners of the Grant Well at Pithole, Benango County, Pennsylvania, flowing at the moderate rate of 1,500 barrels

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daily. The United States Federal Government never had the original titles to the lands of the Thirteen Colonial States, and therefore never gave any concession or right for the boring for petroleum in the State of Pennsylvania. Yet in the year 1866, under its unchallenged power of taxation, the American Congress placed a Federal tax of $1 per barrel upon Pennsylvania crude oil, payable at the wells by the producers, that being the only place of production at that time. At the time the Federal taxgatherer appeared on the scene Pennsylvania crude oil brought only $2.50 per barrel, so that the tax was equal to 40 per cent of the gross value. Not only so, but the tax dated from the passage of the act, so there was a tremendous arrearage due the Government, and it took months of steady application of the entire receipts from the sale of 1,500 barrels daily to liquidate the claim of the Government. This was a sample of the taxing power of the American Government—of any government—in time of war, or to pay the indebtedness following war.

In the Tampico field there has raged for a long time between the American corporations and the Mexican Government a quarrel over the payment of a 10 per cent tax on the selling price of crude oil. A common practice there illustrates the cupidity of the concessionnaires. A drilling company sells its output to an associated pipe-line company for as little as 40 cents a barrel, and demands that the Government take its tax on the 40-cent basis. The Government replies that this transaction between associated corporations does not establish a bona-fide selling price, and insists that the tax shall be 10 per cent of the New York quotation for crude oil, which is the basis of the enormous profits paid by the oil companies. The Obregon Administration has also offered to solve the controversy by accepting outright one-tenth of the oil produced.

With respect to the charge that the Mexican Government has been oppressive in its administration of the laws [says Mr. Dithridge], there is something that the American people should know. During more than a decade of residence and business in Mexico I never knew the state or federal taxes or charges to be excessive, even upon concessions and privileges of great value. On the contrary, they have always been the acme of moderation and liberality. And no matter what taxes were imposed or supposable, the hundreds of millions of barrels of petroleum yielded from the treasure house of the Mexican people would represent a sum of profit so vast as to make it look both absurd and shameful for complaint to be made to a neighbor friendly Power to wantonly exert its power right along into war-coercion! It is infinitely worse than what is or could be expressed by "pulling the chestnuts out of the fire." It is rather up to Mr. Doheny to show that the chestnuts were ever his, whether before or after they got into the fire.

Mexico's new Constitution is so easily defended in international law that the interventionists have begun to discard it as a cause for war. At present their propaganda deals more in generalities which aim to strengthen a lazy popular illusion that the Mexican people are inherently incapable of preserving order and protecting foreign interests, even when they are confessedly tired of revolutions and possess a government which is trying to do the right thing by everyone. Upon the cause of this change in tactics by the oil men an American business man of fifteen years' residence in Mexico City shed much light when he said to me:

Hitherto the oil men have been able to play a fine game of bluff and wave a big club over the heads of Mexican officials. That was because the 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 pesos which they paid monthly in taxes was the Government's chief income. When they held back their taxes the Government couldn't pay its bills and began to totter. Carranza was in that fix, and several months before he went out he was able to meet only 70 per cent of the public pay-roll. When he fell the Treasury was empty. But the new Administration, with De la Huerta as Minister of Finance, has freed itself from such helpless dependence upon the oil companies. By the application of wise taxes, big economies, and efficient accounting, the National Treasury now enjoys a monthly revenue of some 6,500,000 pesos entirely apart from the oil revenue. So, when the oil men hold back their taxes, the Government does not totter. On the contrary, it prepares to enforce the delinquency penalties. Last month some of the companies withheld their taxes, but within three weeks they found they were living in a new era, so they paid up. That is why the Obregon Administration has today a treasury reserve of 16,000,000 pesos, and to this reserve it is in a position to add every month virtually the whole sum of six or seven million pesos collected from the oil industry. By midsummer I am sure that Minister De la Huerta will be able to resume interest payment on the national debt, with a good chance of meeting some of the deferred interest by the end of the year.

Resumption of interest payment would win for the Mexican Government thousands of influential friends among foreign holders of its securities. This would divide the camp of those who have looked with more or less satisfaction upon the drift toward intervention. So De la Huerta's desire to resume the payments is equaled only by the need of the oil men to prevent it. And there are many observers of the struggle in Mexico City who believe the growth of the treasury reserve may precipitate some act of inspired mischief that would bring an international crisis and save the situation for the interventionists.

Rumors of such inspired mischief fill the days and nights of an inquiring visitor to Mexico City. I have read extracts from letters written to a friend in the Mexican capital by a gentleman who was traveling on the special car of President-elect Harding during December and January last. This gentleman referred to a forthcoming complete reorganization of the Mexican Government, by force of arms, assisted or entirely accomplished by the United States. Although it had not yet been announced who would be chosen to fill those posts, this letter writer stated that under the Harding Administration "the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of War will both be friends of mine, and I know exactly what they will do." Was this private correspondent telling the truth or merely painting his own importance to a distant friend? I don't know. But I saw extracts from letters by a clergyman who busies himself quietly in international politics, and these letters referred to those I have quoted from and assured the confidential recipient that "there will be wigs on the green" in the near future. Another statement by the first correspondent explained that several millions of dollars had recently been expended in the United States to create opinion favorable to the Obregon Administration. But all in vain, he added; the problem would not be adjusted by friendly negotiation: "You have been told how it will be done, and it will happen just that way." At least one prominent editor in Mexico City is involved by the documents in this scheme to "reorganize" the Mexican Government by force of arms. On the other side, one may hear exciting and wholly unverified stories about how one Cabinet member has poisoned another, or attempted to poison President Obregon, and for his services will shortly be elevated to the Presidency by powerful American financial interests. Gossip among idlers in Mexico City knows no bounds and bothers with no proofs.

In this atmosphere, however, the cause of the interven-

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tionist thrives. For to make war easy the interventionist must furnish some "news" or rumor that will obscure facts and the calm consideration of them. He must make the American people forget that the total unpaid interest on Mexico's foreign debt is less than $45,000,000; must keep them from knowing that the vast majority of American business men in Mexico are prosperous and contented; must conceal from them that the Obregon Administration is anxious to make reparation for all loss of life and property as soon as foreign governments will consent to negotiations for that purpose. If the American people will forget these essential truths about Mexico, I am convinced that the interests capable of "setting fire to the world" to gain their ends will furnish a palace revolution, another raid over the border, the kidnapping of another consul, or whatever other preamble to invasion may be required.

These ruthless petroleum dynasties are already at odds and preparing for open war with each other. Regardless of her desire to satisfy both the American and British oil groups, Mexico may easily become a battleground because one of these groups is determined to overthrow and oust the other. On the floor of the United States Senate, April 12, Senator Lodge read from a letter to himself, in which Secretary Fall charged the British oil interests with having betrayed the American Association of Oil Companies by "accepting the Mexican Government's demands with reference to oil-drilling permits," and abiding by its laws! "British oil interests are giving every assurance to Obregon and Mexican officials of their support and friendly cooperation," Secretary Fall complains, "seeking advantage against or over American companies, while the British Government owning this company [Cowdray's Aguila Company], is ostensibly standing by the United States Government in its action" of resistance to Mexican laws. Was ever the identity of oil, governments, and diplomacy more perfectly established or more blatantly confessed? Was ever the menace to Mexico and the world's peace more clearly suggested? Secretary Fall and his oil friends are able to draw only one moral from the "conspiracy" they have uncovered. By conforming to Mexican laws and decrees, which Americans resist, the British are cutting under the American oil companies; therefore, down with Mexican laws and decrees! And the American Government and people are supposed to join in the cry. Mr. Fall does not intend that American business shall be undone by the laws of a neighboring country which bless those who obey and punish those who do not.

From President Obregon down to the humblest policeman, Mexican officials know that highly financed intrigue can produce "bandit" uprisings, outrages against foreigners, or "revolutions" which they are unable exactly to foresee or prevent. The nervous suspicions of an impulsive populace, no less than the weight of sheer bribery, makes this so. To an American visitor who had just recounted his reasons for believing that armed intervention was near, a highly placed Mexican official exclaimed: "I beg of you don't tell that story to many of our people. There would be riots before the American Embassy within twenty-four hours!" That is an indication of the human high explosives which alien mischief-makers have ready at hand. It is in large part a result of American conquest in 1848, revived by the invasions of Vera Cruz and Chihuahua under President Wilson, and kept alive by the elevation to Cabinet rank of Senator Fall, whose draft of demands upon Mexico has opened fresh wounds in the pride of every patriot below the Rio Grande.

In his letter addressed to a Mexican attorney, and then given to the press, Mr. Fall says: "Personally I am exceedingly desirous that this Government should cooperate with any such Government or proposed Government of Mexico in the most friendly, earnest, and sincere manner." Fine words. Yet the very letter in which they are set down carried insult to the Mexican Government as direct as if it had been deliberately drawn to humiliate a proud people. When I asked him to comment on the Fall demands President Obregon made a visible effort to reply with words that should not convey his bitter resentment. To understand this resentment, let us glance at the Fall demands. They are: (1) That a commission be appointed to ascertain the extent of damage suffered by Americans and American property, and by Mexicans and Mexican property on both sides of the frontier; (2) that another or the same commission be directed to settle boundary and irrigation disputes between the two countries; (3) that Article 27, or any decree or law issued thereunder, shall not apply to deprive American citizens of their property rights theretofore legally acquired; that clauses with reference to the teaching of schools by ministers of the Gospel, to the teaching of Christianity by Americans, and like clauses, shall not be enforced against American citizens; (4) that agreements be signed for the protection of American citizens and their property rights in Mexico in future; (5) that as the only acceptable price of recognition the Obregon Administration shall give previous signed allegiance to the above points, which "shall be embodied in a formal treaty between the two countries as soon as the Mexican Government is recognized." Religion and property rights are crudely mixed in Senator Fall's prescription. But this effort to mobilize the Church for war on Mexico ought not to get far in the light of comment by Enoch F. Fell, associate secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who says:

> So far as I have been able to ascertain, our missionaries in Mexico do not suffer any disabilities or persecution either from the Government or from non-governmental sources. I cannot say that our work has been seriously handicapped by any provisions of the Mexican Constitution or laws passed thereunder. I don't think that our Government would ever be justified in demanding that the Constitution of Mexico be changed to suit our tastes. As for the teaching of schools by ministers of the Gospel and the preaching of Christianity by Americans and so on, they do not bother us the least bit. Under no circumstances would we, the representatives of American churches, allow our missionary interests to be so closely tied up to those political and financial questions that are involved in Secretary Fall's letter. If any Protestant missionaries or Christian leaders urged these things upon Mr. Fall, then they must have done so in their personal capacity and not as representatives of the boards or churches.

Omitting the religious issue, which does not exist, Mexico is able and anxious to meet every requirement set forth in the Fall letter. But her leaders and common people regard as infamous Secretary Fall's contemptuous ultimatum that they stand at the point of a gun and give bond that they will not lie and steal from foreigners. I had been told that several notes sent to Mexico by Secretary of State Colby were so insulting that no response was ever made to them. So, when, seated at President Obregon's side in the National Palace, I referred to the protocol demanded by Sec-

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retary Fall as the price of recognition for his Administration, I was not surprised when Mexico's new Chief Executive refused to repeat Mr. Fall's name or to discuss the terms of his proposal. "Is Mexico prepared to sign such a protocol as the price of recognition?" I asked. "Mexico has not sought recognition from the United States," the President replied, and then was silent long enough for the answer to interpret itself. In a moment he continued:

Nevertheless, the Government and people of Mexico crave the friendship and good will of the Government and people of the United States, and the formal recognition that would naturally follow. We have much to gain through peace and cooperation with the United States, and much to give. And we have no objection to making a treaty which would establish important policies affecting the two countries. But a treaty between independent nations must contain reciprocal advantages. Such a treaty Mexico is ready to negotiate. There is, however, no factor in the actual circumstances between the United States and Mexico, and no precedent in international law, to justify a demand that Mexico sign a treaty as the price of formal recognition.

With two members of the Obregon Cabinet I enjoyed frank discussions of the intervention peril. The first of these officials professed to have no fear that the United States would provoke a war. He is an idealist in philosophy and a realist in action, yet his words sounded naive. "There is no cause for war," he said; "we have concluded our revolution, and American capital is secure in Mexico and returning a good profit to its owners. The oil corporations are much better off under our laws than they would be if they had to pay the heavy taxes made necessary in the United States by the World War. Your country has a terrible load of debt, and the party in control is pledged to curtail expenditures and reduce taxation. A war with Mexico would defeat that program, and win nothing more than Mexico is willing to guarantee through peaceful negotiations." Yet, I insisted, what if invasion should come in spite of all that? "We can hold out for many years," he replied; "we know the mountain paths and our people are skilled in guerrilla fighting."

The second Minister was a shade less sanguine, but still hopeful that peace would prevail. "We think Secretary Hughes will be just because he is honest and intelligent," this man told me. "We realize that the United States is an invincible Power, that it contains elements at present hostile to Mexico, and that our policy must conform to the actualities. But we will never accept the status of Cuba, whose position as a dependency of the United States is sometimes recommended as a 'solution' for Mexico. Within the shadow of a peril which we fully comprehend, the policy of this Administration is to busy itself with a just solution of its domestic tasks and not worry too much about a danger that we cannot control."

And so the peril stands, and grows. Yet if there be any reverence left in the American soul for illustrious example and acclaimed wisdom of the past, then intrigue, lies, and organized selfishness will not serve to stain the flag with ruthless conquest and strew the continent with fresh horrors of war. In concluding this brief study I commend to the people in general and to the Republican Party especially some words in which all I feel and far more than I have said about Mexico are luminously expressed by the best-beloved figure in American history. Were he alive today Abraham Lincoln could hardly pen a message more filled with wisdom and timely analysis than the note he sent forward to his representative in Mexico City a few months before violent death struck him down. Maximilian had fallen and Mexico was struggling again to her feet under the guidance of President Benito Juarez when Lincoln wrote:

For a few years past the condition of Mexico has been so unsettled as to raise the question on both sides of the Atlantic whether the time has not come when some foreign Power ought, in the general interest of society, to intervene, to establish a protectorate or some other form of government in that country, and guarantee its continuance there. . . .

You will not fail to assure the Government of Mexico that the President neither has nor can ever have any sympathy with such designs, in whatever quarter they may arise or whatever character they may take on. . . .

The President never for a moment doubts that the republican system is to pass safely through all ordeals and prove a permanent success in our own country and so be recommended to adoption by all other nations. But he thinks, also, that the system everywhere has to make its way painfully through difficulties and embarrassments which result from the action of antagonistical elements which are a legacy of former times and very different institutions.

The President is hopeful of the ultimate triumph of this system over all obstacles, as well as in regard to Mexico as in regard to every other American state; but he feels that these states are nevertheless justly entitled to a greater forbearance and more generous sympathy from the Government and the people of the United States than they are likely to receive in any other quarter.

The President trusts that your mission, manifesting these sentiments, will reassure the Government of Mexico of his best disposition to favor their commerce and internal improvements.

*I find the archives here full of complaints against the Mexican Government for violation of contracts and spoliation and cruelties practiced against American citizens.* It is not the President's intention to send forward such claims at the present moment. He willingly defers the performance of a duty which at any time would seem ungracious, until the incoming Administration in Mexico shall have had time, if possible, to cement its authority.

To that utterance nothing can be added in definition of the duty owed to Mexico by the United States.

# The British Coal Strike

By HAROLD J. LASKI

*London, April 4*

WITHIN less than four months since the last great strike the coal industry of this country is again plunged into complete chaos. This time the stoppage can without exaggeration be described as the most serious the country has ever known. For the first time in its history the Miners' Federation has withdrawn labor of every sort from the pits, so that the flooding of the deeper mines will be, if the stoppage be at all prolonged, a certainty. For the first time also, it has definitely appealed to the remaining partners of the Triple Alliance for aid; and it is difficult to believe that assistance can be withheld at so critical a time. Unless, therefore, something unforeseen occurs in the next two or three days the country will be confronted by the greatest industrial dislocation of its history. It is purely idle as yet to talk of revolution, though there are doubtless elements in both camps to whom that prospect is inviting. The present issue is purely one of wages. How much more

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it is to become will depend upon the policy of the Government.

The present dispute turns upon the sudden decision of the Government to decontrol the mines. The causes of that step are very difficult to assess. Everyone knew that peace depended upon owners and men having a sufficient amount of time to work out a solution of their common problems. If control had been maintained until its normal date (August 31) a settlement would have been inevitable for the sufficient reason that the united public opinion of the country would have demanded it. But the sudden resolve of the Government to predate decontrol to March 31 made settlement impossible. The owners were living through a bad financial period. They disliked the system of national wage agreements to which control had committed them. They saw an admirable opportunity not only of returning to the old system of district settlements, but thereby also of striking a decisive blow at the prestige of the Miners' Federation and of destroying the large increases of wages which the men secured from the war. The time, moreover, was from their standpoint excellent. Large stocks of coal had been everywhere accumulated; the trade position made coal-getting profitable only in a bare handful of the best mines; and the miners' funds were low as a result of the November strike. Postponement of decontrol would, at most, have cost the Government a few scores of thousands; the present dispute, if it be prolonged, will cost not only millions, but possibly the export trade in coal. The decision taken fits in so admirably with what the owners must have desired as to make the hypothesis of collusion between them and the Cabinet at least worthy of consideration. It comes moreover at a moment when Mr. Lloyd George has been insisting on the danger of the Labor Party to the State.

Once it was seen that decontrol was inevitable, the owners took the steps expected of them. Mining, they argued, is no longer profitable; therefore wages must be reduced. There is to be no standard reduction uniformly through the coal fields, but district reductions varying from a 50 per cent cut in South Wales to something like 20 per cent in Durham. That, broadly speaking, would mean in real wages the loss of all the miners' war gains, including the special Sankey award made in March, 1919, on the special and specific ground that the miners' standard of life was inadequate. It is to be noted that no statistical proof of the degree to which the industry is unprofitable was offered. We do not learn of the profit in by-products, the sale of coke, and the transference of coal to blast furnaces connected with not a few mines. We do not learn how the rate of profit varies from mine-field to mine-field, much less from mine to mine. We are simply given the owners' contemptuous *ipse dixit* as the basis of action. Nor was there consultation with the men. The reductions decreed were simply posted at the pithead; all existing contracts were terminated; and the Miners' Federation was absolutely ignored. Autocratic government could hardly go further.

The miners' position is a simple one, though they have hardly succeeded in making their case plain to the public. That decontrol must mean a reduction in wages is common ground. Mr. Frank Hodges, indeed, has asked for a national subsidy for the mines until the present crisis has passed; but that is not practical politics and may well be ignored. In our present financial position no one industry can be allowed to become parasitic upon the country. Alternatively, they demand national negotiations of wage-rates. This, it should be noted, they have already had for six years, and it does not preclude variation according to districts, so long as the center of negotiation is the executive of the miners. What they resent, and rightly resent, is that their wages should be cut without regard to a standard of life, to the price of coal, to their employers' rate of profit, or even to the necessary data without which the owners have left them to fight in the dark. Their one tactical mistake is to have withdrawn the pump and enginemen and so to have made possible the flooding of the mines. This has set the opinion of the usually indifferent man in the street against them; it is a grave menace to the recovery of our trade; and it is a positive inducement to the owners to prolong the dispute. The explanation offered is that if the mines were kept open, the Government might have helped the owners to blackleg; but most people will think that a prior agreement on this head could have been had. Probably the action is simply a symptom of the temper in which the struggle is to be fought.

That the real culprit in the struggle is the Government will be obvious to everyone. Its action is akin to that sinister folly which in Ireland and India, in Egypt and Central Europe destroys both our good name and our prosperity in the interests of reaction. Mr. Lloyd George was committed to the Sankey Report, and when he deliberately evaded that pledge he laid all the foundations of the present trouble. He had to choose between power and his honor, and, characteristically enough, he chose power. That the mines are a good investment for the nation will be obvious to anyone who remembers that in the six years from 1914 the owners received more than their capital value in profit; an investment which pays 100 per cent in six years might have attracted even a vote-catching Prime Minister. But just as Dr. Addison was afraid of the building guilds and did his best to block their progress, so Mr. Lloyd George was afraid that if the nationalization of the mines was a success, the railways and shipping would follow. As virtual head of the Tory Party he had, of course, to reject nationalization if he wished to retain office.

The effect on the nation of this strike is bound to be disastrous. If the miners lose the present strike, they will merely gird up their loins for a further struggle, and it is that absence of certain peace which is chiefly working havoc with the coal industry. If they lose, their defeat will, confessedly, be the signal for a frontal attack upon wages, which will result in a grave degradation of the national standard of life. That is why the railway men and the transport workers will probably think it imperative to assist the miners now. It is better to have a strike of their own choosing than to have one forced upon them, and it is well that capital the country over should be taught that wages cannot be reduced with impunity. But we have far to travel before that realization will have been grasped. When it is, I think a different government will be in power.

## Contributors to This Issue

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# Contemporary American Novelists

By CARL VAN DOREN

## IV. WINSTON CHURCHILL

THE tidal wave of historical romance which toward the end of the past century attacked this coast and broke so far inland as to inundate the entire continent swept Winston Churchill to a substantial peak of popularity to which he has since clung, with little apparent loss, by the exercise of methods somewhat but not greatly less romantic than those which at first lifted him above the flood. Those early methods, certainly, were not his own inventions. Full allowance being made for the dubiety of literary lineages, "The Virginians" will still do well enough as an ancestor of "Richard Carvel," in both of which gallant young American provincials learn the way of the world in England; and "Lorna Doone" will do well enough as an ancestor of "The Crossing," in both of which precocious and virtuous lads of a backwoods disposition rise through adventure to marriages with charming ladies. "The Crisis," one of the earliest Civil War romances on something like the grand scale, and "Coniston," with its Jacksonian democracy misbehaving among the Yankees, seem perhaps hardly so legitimate in descent. The proportion of originality among the four, however, is of course neither determinable nor important. Romance always actually follows the methods it obviously followed during the Middle Ages, advancing somewhat anonymously through the generations, alternately waxing and waning like the moon; and Mr. Churchill is of the sound romantic tradition.

He came when romance was in that ascendant mood, enlarged by that moment of national expansiveness, which attended the war with Spain. Patriotism and jingoism, altruism and imperialism, passion and sentimentalism shook the temper which had been slowly stiffening since the Civil War. Now, with a rush of unaccustomed emotions the national imagination sought out its own past, luxuriating in it, not to say wallowing in it. In Mr. Churchill it found a romancer full of consolation to any who might fear or suspect that the country's history did not quite match its destiny. He had enough erudition to lend a very considerable "thickness" to his scene, whether it was Annapolis or St. Louis or Kentucky or upland New England. He had a sense for the large general bearings of this or that epoch; he had a firm, warm confidence in the future implied and adumbrated by this past; he had a feeling for the ceremonial in all eminent occasions. He had, too, a knack at archaic costume and knack enough at the idiom in which his contemporaries believed their forebears had expressed themselves. And he had, besides all these qualities needed to make his records heroic, the quality of moral earnestness which imparted to them the look of moral significance. Richard Carvel, by the exercise of simple Maryland virtues, rises above the enervate young sparks of Mayfair; Stephen Brice in "The Crisis" by his simple Yankee virtues makes his mark among the St. Louis rebels —who, however, are gallant and noble though misguided men; canny David Ritchie in "The Crossing" leads the frontiersmen of Kentucky as the little child of fable leads the lion and the lamb; crafty Jethro Bass in "Coniston," though a village boss with a pocketful of mortgages and consequently of constituents, surrenders his ugly power at the touch of a maiden's hand.

To reflect a little upon this combination of heroic color and moral earnestness is to discover how much Mr. Churchill owes to the elements injected into American life by Theodore Roosevelt. Is not "The Crossing"—to take specific illustrations—connected with the same central saga as "The Winning of the West"? Is not "Coniston," whatever the date of its events, an arraignment of that civic corruption which Roosevelt hated as the natural result of civic negligence, and against which he urged the duty of an awakened civic conscience? In time Mr. Churchill was to extend his inquiries to regions of speculation into which Roosevelt never ventured, but as regards American history and American polities they were of one mind. "Nor are the ethics of the manner of our acquisition of a part of Panama and the Canal," wrote Mr. Churchill in 1918 in his essay on The American Contribution and the Democratic Idea, "wholly defensible from the point of view of international democracy. Yet it must be remembered that President Roosevelt was dealing with a corrupt, irresponsible, and hostile government, and that the Canal had become a necessity not only for our own development, but for that of the civilization of the world." And again: "The only real peril confronting democracy is the arrest of growth." Roosevelt himself could not have muddled an issue better. Like him Mr. Churchill has habitually moved along the main lines of national feeling—believing in America and democracy with a fealty unshaken by any adverse evidence and delighting in the American pageant with a gusto rarely modified by the exercise of any critical intelligence. Morally he has been strenuous and eager; intellectually he has been naive and belated. Whether he has been writing what was avowedly romance or what was intended to be sober criticism, he has been always the romancer first and the critic afterwards.

And yet since the vogue of historical romance passed nearly a score of years ago Mr. Churchill has honestly striven to keep up with the world by thinking about it. One novel after another has presented some encroaching problem of American civic or social life: the control of polities by interest in "Mr. Crewe's Career"; divorce in "A Modern Chronicle"; the conflict between Christianity and business in "The Inside of the Cup"; the oppression of the soul by the lust for temporal power in "A Far Country"; the struggle of women with the conditions of modern industry in "The Dwelling Place of Light." Nothing has hurried Mr. Churchill or forced his hand; he has taken two or three years for each novel, has read widely, has brooded over his theme, has reinforced his stories with solid documentation. He has aroused prodigious discussion of his challenges and solutions—particularly in the case of "The Inside of the Cup." That novel perhaps best of all exhibits his later methods. John Hodder by some miracle of inattention or some accident of isolation has been kept in his country parish from any contact with the doubt which characterizes his age. Transferred to a large city he almost instantly finds in himself heresies hitherto only latent, spends a single summer among the poor, and in

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the fall begins relentless war against the unworthy rich among his congregation. Thought plays but a trivial part in Hodder's development. Had he done any real thinking he must long before have freed himself from the dogmas that obstruct him. Instead, he has drifted with the general stream, and learns not from the leaders but from the slower followers of opinion. Like the politician he absorbs through his skin, gathering premonitions as to which way the crowd is going and then rushing off in that direction. If this recalls the processes of Roosevelt, hardly less does it recall those of Mr. Churchill. Once taken by an idea for a novel, he has always burned with it as if it were as new to the world as to him. Here lies, without much question, the secret of that genuine earnestness which pervades all his books: he writes out of the contagious passion of a recent convert or a still excited discoverer. Here lies, too, without much question, the secret of Mr. Churchill's success in holding his audiences: a sort of unconscious politician among novelists, he gathers his premonitions at happy moments, when the drift is already setting in. Never once has Mr. Churchill, like a philosopher or a seer, run off alone.

Even for those, however, who perceive that he belongs intellectually to a middle class which is neither very subtle nor very profound on the one hand nor very shrewd or very downright on the other, it is impossible to withhold from Mr. Churchill the respect due a sincere, scrupulous, and upright man who has served the truth and his art according to his lights. If he has not overheard the keenest voices of his age, neither has he listened to the voice of the mob. The sounds which have reached him from among the people have come from those who eagerly aspire to better things arrived at by orderly progress, from those who desire in some lawful way to outgrow the injustices and inequalities of civil existence and by fit methods to free the human spirit from all that clogs and stifles it. But as they aspire and intend better than they think, so, in concert with them, does Mr. Churchill. In all his novels, even the most romantic, the real interest lies in some mounting aspiration opposed to a static regime, whether the passion for independence among the American colonies, or the expanding movement of the population westward, or the crusades against slavery or political malfeasance, or the extrication of liberal temperaments from the shackles of excessive wealth or poverty or orthodoxy. Yet the only conclusions he can at all devise are those which history has devised already —the achievement of independence or of the Illinois country, the abolition of slavery, the defeat of this or that usurper of power in politics. Rarely is anything really thought out. Compare, for instance, his epic of matrimony, "A Modern Chronicle," with such a penetrating—if satirical—study as "The Custom of the Country." Mrs. Wharton urges no more doctrine than Mr. Churchill, and she, like him, confines herself to the career of one woman with her successive husbands; but whereas the "Custom" is luminous with quiet suggestion and implicit commentary upon the relations of the sexes in the prevailing modes of marriage, the "Chronicle" has little more to say than that after two exciting marriages a woman is ready enough to settle peacefully down with the friend of her childhood whom she should have married in the beginning. In "A Far Country" a lawyer who has let himself be made a tool in the hands of nefarious corporations undergoes a tragic love affair, suffers conversion, reads a few books of modern speculation, and resolutely turns his face toward a new order. In the same precipitate fashion the heroine of "The Dwelling Place of Light," who has given no apparent thought whatever to economic problems except as they touch her individually, suffers a shock in connection with her intrigue with her capitalist employer and becomes straightway a "radical," shortly thereafter making a pathetic and edifying end in childbirth. In all these books there are hundreds of sound observations and elevated sentiments; the author's sympathies are, as a rule, remarkably right; but taken as a whole his most serious novels, however lifelike and well rounded their surfaces may seem, lack the upholding, articulating skeleton of thought.

Much the same lack of spiritual penetration and intellectual consistency which has kept Mr. Churchill from ever building a very notable realistic plot has kept him from ever creating any very memorable characters. The author of ten novels, immensely popular for more than a score of years, he has to his credit not a single figure—man or woman—generally accepted by the public as either a type or a person. With remarkably few exceptions he has seen his dramatic personae from without, and—doubtless for that reason—has apparently felt as free to saw and fit them to his argument as he has felt with his plots. Something preposterous in the millionaire reformer Mr. Crewe, something cantankerous and passionate in the Abolitionist Judge Whipple of "The Crisis," above all something both tough and quaint in the up-country politician Jethro Bass in "Coniston," resisted the argumentative knife and saved for those particular persons that look of being entities in their own right which distinguishes the authentic from the artificial characters of fiction. For the most part, however, Mr. Churchill has erred in what may be called the arithmetic of his art: he has thought of men and women as mere fractions of a unit of fiction, whereas they themselves in any but romances must be the units and the total work the sum or product of the fictive operation. Naturally he has succeeded rather worse with characters of his own creating, since his conceptions in such cases have come to him as social or political problems to be illustrated in the conduct of beings suitably shaped, than in characters drawn in some measure from history, with their individualities already more or less established. Without achieving fresh or bold interpretations of John Paul Jones or George Rogers Clark or Lincoln Mr. Churchill has added a good deal to the vividness of their legends; whereas in the case of characters not quite so historical, such as Judge Whipple and Jethro Bass, he has admirably fused his moral earnestness regarding American politics with his sense of spaciousness and color in the American past.

After the most careful reflection upon Mr. Churchill's successive studies of contemporary life one recurs irresistibly to his romances. He possesses, and has more than once displayed, a true romantic—almost a true epic—instinct. Behind the careers of Richard Carvel and Stephen Brice and David Ritchie and Jethro Bass appear the procession and reverberation of stirring days. Nearer a Walter Scott than a Bernard Shaw, Mr. Churchill has always been willing to take the memories of his nation as they have come down to him and to work them without question or rejection into his broad tapestry. A naturalistic generation is tempted to make light of such methods; they belong, however, too truly to good traditions of literature to be overlooked. A national past has many uses, and different dispositions find

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in it instruction or warning, depression or exaltation. Mr. Churchill has found in the American past a cause for exaltation chiefly; after his ugliest chapters the light breaks and he close always upon the note of high confidence which resounds in the epics of robust, successful nations. If in this respect he has too regularly flattered his countrymen, he has also enriched the national consciousness by the colors which he has brought back from his impassioned forays. Only now and then, it must be remembered, do historical novels pass in their original form from one generation to another; more frequently they suffer a decomposition due to their lack of essential truth and descend to the function of compost for succeeding harvests of romance. Though probably but one or two of Mr. Churchill's books—perhaps not even one—can be expected to outlast a generation with much vitality, he cannot be denied the honor of having added something agreeable if imponderable to the national memory and so of having served his country in one real way if not in another.

# A Short View of Gamalielese

By H. L. MENCKEN

IN the first sentence of the historic address from the east front of the Capitol, glowing there like a gem, was that piquant miscegenation of pronouns the *one-he* combination, for years a favorite of bad newspaper reporters and the inferior clergy. In the fourth sentence of the first message to Congress is *illy*, the passion of rural grammar-teachers and professors of rhetoric in one-building universities. We are, as they say, getting warm. The next great state paper—who knows?—may caress and enchant us with "*Whom* can deny?" And the next with "I would *have had* to *have had*." And the next with "between you and *I*." And the next, going the whole hog, with *alright*, to date the gaudiest, loveliest, darndest flower of the American language, which God preserve!

Hog: flower? Perhaps the distemper is contagious. But certainly not uninteresting to study and snuffle over—certainly no dull thing to the specialist in morbid philology. In the style of the late Woodrow there was nothing, after all, very remarkable, despite the orgiastic praises of Adolph Ochs, the Hon. Josephus Daniels, and other such fanatics. It was simply the style of a somewhat literary and sentimental curate, with borrowings from Moody and Sankey and Dr. Berthold Baer. Its phrases lisped and cooed; there was a velvety and funereal gurgling in them; they were made to be intoned between the second and third lessons by fashionable rectors; aided by fifes and drums, or even by cost-plus contracts, they were competent to vamp the intellect. But intrinsically they were hollow. No heart's blood was in them; no gobs of raw flesh. There was no passion there, hot, exigent, and challenging. They could not make one puff and pant. . . . One had to wait for Dr. Harding for that. In his style there is pressure, ardency, effortcy, gasping, a high grunting, Cheyne-Stokes breathing. It is a style that rolls and groans, struggles and complains. It is the style of a rhinoceros liberating himself by main strength from a lake of boiling molasses.

In the doctrine that it is obscure I take no stock whatever. Not a single sentence in the two great papers is incomprehensible to me, even after I have dined. I exhume a sample strophe from the canto on the budget system in the message: "It will be a very great satisfaction to know of its early enactment, so it may be employed in establishing the economies and business methods so necessary in the minimum of expenditure." This is awful stuff, I grant you, but is it actually unintelligible? Surely not. Read it slowly and critically, and it may boggle you, but read it at one flash, and the meaning will be clear enough. Its method is that of *pointillisme*. The blotches of color are violent, and, seen too closely they appear insane, but stand off a bit and a quite simple and even austere design is at once discerned. "I hope it is adopted soon, so that we may employ the economies and business methods needed to hold down expenses": this is the kernel. What else is there is the style. It is the style of what the text-books of rhetoric call "elevated" discourse. Its aim is to lend force to a simple hope or plea or asseveration by giving it the dynamic whoop and hoopla of a revival sermon, an auction sale, or a college yell. The nuclear thought is not smothered in the process, as Democratic aesthetes argue, nor is it true that there is sometimes no nuclear thought at all. It is always present, and nine times out of ten it is simple, obvious, and highly respectable. But it lacks punch; it is devoid of any capacity to startle and scorch. To give it the vigor and dignity that a great occasion demands it is carefully encased in those swathings of sonorous polysyllables, and then, the charge being rammed home, it is discharged point-blank into the ears and cerebrums of Christendom.

Such is the Gamalian manner, the secret of the Gamalian style. That style had its origin under circumstances that are surely not unknown to experts in politico-agrarian oratory. It came to birth on the rustic stump, it developed to full growth among the chautauquas, and it got its final polishing in a small-town newspaper office. In brief, it reflects admirably the tastes and traditions of the sort of audience at which it was first aimed, to wit, the yokelry of the hinterland, naive, agape, thirsty for the prodigious, and eager to yell. Such an audience has no fancy for a well-knit and succinct argument, packed with ideas. Of all ideas, indeed, it is suspicious, but it will at least tolerate those that it knows by long hearing, those that have come to the estate of platitudes, those that fall readily into gallant and highfalutin phrases. Above all, it distrusts perspicuity, for perspicuity is challenging and forces one to think, and hence lays a burden on the mind. What it likes most of all is the roll of incomprehensible polysyllables—the more incomprehensible the better. It wants to be bombarded, bawled at, overwhelmed by mad gusts of the parts of speech. It wants to be entertained by orators who are manifestly superior—fellows whose discourse is so all-fired learned and unintelligible, so brilliant with hard words and trombone phrases, that it leaves them gasping. Let the thunder sound, and it takes all else on trust. If a sentence ends with a roar, it does not stop to inquire how it began. If a phrase has punch, it does not ask that it also have a meaning. If a word stings, that is enough.

Trained to the service of such connoisseurs, Dr. Harding carries over the style that they admire into his traffic with the Congress, the effete *intelligentsia*, and the powers and principalities of Europe. That style is based upon the simplest of principles. For every idea there is what may be called a maximum investiture—a garb of words beyond which it is a sheer impossibility to go in gaudiness. For every plain word there is a word four times as big. The

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problem is to think the thing out in terms of harmless banality, to arrange a series of obvious and familiar ideas in a logical sequence, and then to translate them, one by one, into nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and pronouns of the highest conceivable horse-power—to lift the whole discourse to the plane of artillery practice—to dignify the sense by all the arts of sorcery. Turn to the two immortal documents. The word *citizen* is plainly banal; even a Congressman can understand it. Very well, then let us make it *citizenship*—and *citizenship* it becomes every time. But even that is not enough. There comes a high point in the argument; a few more pounds of steam must be found. *Citizen* now undergoes a second proliferation; it becomes *factor in our citizenship*. "We must invite . . . every factor in our citizenship to join in the effort"—to restore normalcy. So with *women*. It is a word in common use, a vulgar word, a word unfit for the occasions of statecraft. *Also*, it becomes *womanhood*. Again, there is *reference;* it swells up a bit and becomes *referendum*. Yet again, *civil* becomes *civic*—more scholarly, more tasty, more nobby. Yet again, *interference* has a low smack; it suggests plow-horses that interfere. *En avant!* there is *intermediation!* And so with whole phrases. "The views of the world" gives way to "the expressed views of world opinion." "Heedless of cost" becomes "in heedlessness of cost." "Public conscience" becomes "the expressed conscience of progress." The "uplift," now ancient and a trifle obscene, is triumphantly reincarnated in "our manifestation of human interest." "The Government's duty to develop good citizens" shrieks upward like a rocket and bursts magnificently into "the Government's obligation affirmatively to encourage development of the highest and most efficient type of citizenship." And so on and on.

Naturally enough, this style has its perils, no less hellish than war's. A man, so blowing up the parts of speech, may have one burst in his face. I discern something of the sort, alas, in "Congress might speed the price readjustment to normal relationship, with helpfulness of both producer and consumer." Here there has been an accident. just what I do not know. I suspect that "normal relationship" was substituted for *normalcy,* and that *normalcy* somehow got its revenge. Or maybe *helpfulness* came to its rescue and did the dirty work. Furthermore, the little word *of* has a suspicious look. I let the problem go. It is not one that a literary man engages with much gusto. He knows by harsh experience that words have a way of playing tricks—that they run amok at times, and toss him in the air, or stand him on his head—that fooling with them is like training leopards and panthers to leap through hoops and play the violoncello. There is, I have a notion, a foul conspiracy among words to pull Dr. Harding's legs from under him. He has tortured them for years—on the stump, in the chautauquas, beside the felled and smoking ox, at the annual banquets of the Chamber of Commerce, the Knights of Pythias, the Rotary Club, the Moose; above all, on the floors of legislative halls and in the columns of the Marion *Star*. He has forced them into strange and abhorrent marriages. He has stretched them as if they were chewing-gum. He has introduced pipes into them and pumped them until they screamed. He has put them to cruel and unusual uses. He has shown them no mercy. . . . Now, at last, they have him before a crowd that loves mirth, and make ready to get their *revanche*. Now they prepare to put the skids under him.

# The Mooney Case Today

By GEORGE P. WEST

ONLY a pardon from Governor Stephens can give Mooney and Billings their freedom. Each has spent more than four years in prison, under life sentences following their conviction for planting the bomb that killed a score of people during the San Francisco Preparedness Day Parade of July, 1916. No intelligent citizen any longer denies that they were convicted on perjured testimony. Recent confessions by witnesses and a city detective have completed the destruction of the case against them. The Judge who presided at Mooney's trial, the detective sergeant who procured the State's witnesses, the Attorney General of California, the district attorney who succeeded Fickert, the Episcopal Bishop of San Francisco—all these and many more have urged action to correct a flagrant miscarriage of justice.

The Supreme Court has washed its hands. Denying the petition of the trial judge and the Attorney General, it held, more than two years ago, that inasmuch as the official record of the Mooney trial contained no evidence of perjury the conviction must stand, because the court cannot go outside of the record. It would take a legal training to understand how such a decision could have any other effect than to bring the law and the whole judicial process into contempt. But at least the decision put the case squarely up to Governor Stephens, and for two years the responsibility has been solely his. His latest acknowledgment was to deny rather brusquely, a year ago, the request of an official delegation from the State Federation of Labor for an audience on Mooney's and Billing's behalf.

District Attorney Brady, who defeated Fickert last year largely with the help of Fremont Older, editor of the *Call* [of San Francisco], and others who had organized the demand for Mooney's and Billings's release, stands ready to investigate every new disclosure bearing on the corruption that resulted in the convictions. When John McDonald, the migratory laborer whose testimony identified Billings as the planter of the bomb, came to San Francisco prepared to testify that he had perjured himself, Mr. Brady took him before the grand jury and attempted to get him immunity. A committee of six members of the grand jury promised the immunity, but it was later withdrawn and McDonald was threatened by agents and friends of principals in the original frame-up. Mr. Brady's good faith is not questioned, but no ambitious politician would yet dare to show zeal and enthusiasm in Mooney's behalf. Many of Mooney's friends are urging that Mr. Brady bring Mooney to trial on one of the remaining indictments, while others insist that a new trial would be a farce, as all the available witnesses have been already completely discredited, and if Governor Stephens will not now sign a pardon there is no reason to suppose that he would act after an acquittal. The Mooney prosecution might even be strengthened, because attention would be diverted from the record as it stands to the merits of the second trial, in which the prosecution's failure to make a case would be excused on the ground of the time that has elapsed and the dispersal of the witnesses. The first convictions would, of course, stand.

Melodrama and sordid comedy and amazing corruption are in the tale that has been told and retold. What the

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world outside of California must wonder, must want to know, is why nothing is done about it, why the years pass and Mooney and Billings still remain in prison. What does the Californian opposed to a pardon have to say for himself? Simply this, that Mooney was a Bolshevik, a bad egg, a dangerous man, and belongs in jail on general principles! Here is the most interesting and significant fact of the whole case. You can go about among the pillars of society anywhere in California and hear one champion of "law and order" after another calmly waive the question of whether there was a single bit of valid evidence proving Mooney's guilt and still insist that Mooney belongs in prison and should stay there!

The sensational arrests a few hours after the bomb explosion centered on Mooney and his fellows the abhorrence and hatred of the community. The weight of it has never been lifted, because the trial proved, not that he was a murderer, but that he was a particularly obstreperous agitator who dramatized his rather childish and malicious mischief-making as an important contribution to the class struggle. Mooney "never grew up," and left alone he would have exhausted the patience of the few radicals who still applauded his abortive, inept, melodramatic attempts to organize the unorganized or to capture control of unions already in existence. Trades union bosses hated him as bitterly as the managers and promoters of San Francisco's big public utilities. Labor union politicians have been half-hearted and halting in coming to his defense, and privately they have cursed him even while publicly urging a pardon or a new trial. The story of Mooney's alleged transgression in addressing a priest who called on him in prison as "Mr." probably has done as much to keep him in prison as the strongest link in the chain of perjuries that make up the record of his trial. He has a genius for antagonizing people.

What has all this to do with the conviction and continued imprisonment of an innocent man? Well, in California at least, everything! Adherence to an abstract principle such as justice breaks down when it conflicts with a strong prevalent emotion. San Francisco differs from other towns only in being a little more sophisticated, a little more cynical, a little less prone to render lip service to these abstractions. It is a little more deliberately and consciously lawless than other communities. Not many years ago the graft prosecution disclosed a lot of popular corporation promoters, restaurateurs, and politicians as law-breakers. The town had to decide whether it wanted to enforce the law and put these men in prison or condone their offenses. It chose to condone, and it is more than a coincidence that the same election that registered this choice, by defeating Heney, put into office as district attorney the Charles M. Fickert who prosecuted Mooney and Billings seven years later. His first mandate from the community was to dismiss the graft prosecutions. The same lawless public opinion that kept Schmitz and Calhoun out of prison put Mooney and Billings in prison, and is keeping them there. Fickert could do as he pleased at the Hall of Justice so long as he regarded and followed the town's major prejudices. These prejudices were often lawless. They demanded immunity for corporation bribe-givers. They demanded a victim for the bomb outrage. They demanded non-enforcement of State laws against vice. What the town wanted required a district attorney not too scrupulous, and the town was not deeply shocked last year when Fremont Older exposed a system by which justice was habitually bought and sold under Fickert's nose in the police courts. It did finally defeat Fickert. It even elected a district attorney who favors a square deal for Mooney. But there was no indignation, nor even intolerance, in the gesture of dismissal. Fickert "made good." He carried out his mandate. But he had served ten years. The police court scandals *were* pretty raw! Fickert remains a popular figure.

Not that even San Francisco is cynical and honest enough to see it this way! It is still the forces of "law and order" that oppose Mooney's pardon. And a large part of the business community thinks of Fremont Older as an enemy of law and order because he has stood for those things on several occasions when they were the antithesis of what San Francisco wanted!

The judge who sentenced Billings was discussing various things with Charles Edward Russell during a week-end at Mr. Older's ranch some years ago in the days when Mr. Russell's grouches ran along less unexceptionable paths than they at present take.

"But surely you believe in law and order?" asked the judge.

"I don't know," replied Mr. Russell. "I never saw any."

The Mooney case is a sensational enough demonstration of how justice may miscarry in an American court. Yet it is merely better advertised than scores of similar miscarriages in which public officials have been equally brutal and corrupt. They are almost typically so in isolated industrial communities dominated by open-shop employers afraid of labor unrest. Congressional hearings and the reports of government agents supply many instances. The Mooney case is, after all, a shocker for the naive and the uninformed. And it is even something when public officials are forced to become law-breakers in order to work injustice. In California prisons today are a score of men serving long sentences legally inflicted under laws that throw a mantle of respectability over the ferocity of the ignorant and the malice of men who manipulate the passions and prejudices of the mob. No bishop concerns himself over their fate. Personally I should rather see intolerance and hatred and stupidity break the laws than make them. The entirely legal conviction and imprisonment in California of members of the I. W. W. and the Communist Labor Party strikes me as more sinister than the plight of Mooney and Billings. If Southern States were to pass laws legalizing the lynching bee for unpopular Negroes the race question would appear even more hopeless than it is today.

# The Informing Spirit

By CARLYLE FERREN MACINTYRE

Galatea gently slumbers
In a womb of marble stone.
Cold, austere, the shell encumbers
Prisoned loveliness unknown.

Quick, Pygmalion, with tender
Chisel strike this beauty free;
Softly, lest you mar the slender
Lily of eternity.

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# In the Driftway

SO the prisoners at Sing Sing are no longer to get out a newspaper! Too bad! The Drifter has read that publication with pleasure in the past, and he has always thought that it would lessen the monotony of prison life to write for it if sometime he were sent "up the river" for bigamy, mayhem, or subornation of perjury. He must be careful now to choose a crime—and thus a prison—that will not entirely shut off his journalistic activities. The reason given by the officials of Sing Sing for stopping the prison newspaper is that it was costing too much money. This sounds familiar; it has been the reason for stopping many another publication from the days of papyrus down to the advent of the news-print trust. A correspondent of the Federated Press suggests another possibility—that the newspaper was stopped because of the publication of an editorial stating that 176 out of 1,200 inmates of Sing Sing had served in General Pershing's forces overseas and suggesting army life as a cause of crime. However this may be, the Drifter conceives that the first serious mistake was the change of the newspaper's name. When started more than twenty years ago, it was known as the *Star of Hope*. A pleasing and appropriate name, that, which ought to have been retained. But in recent years a rival called the *Bulletin* was started. The two were eventually merged, after the manner of modern newspapers; the combination was called the *Star-Bulletin* and, finally, just the *Bulletin*. That was a pathetic mistake. There is a *Bulletin* of some sort in almost every sizable city of the country, but the *Star of Hope* was unique.

* * * * *

A GOOD deal has been said of the uplift value of prison journalism, but the Drifter thinks its possibilities as a punishment have been too little appreciated. Instead of putting the insubordinate poet on bread and water, would it not be more salutary to cut off the last two lines of his sonnet in the prison review? Or, in the case of a disobedient essayist, his article might be revised and "decked out" by the prison officials without his knowledge, after the fashion instituted by the wardens that preside over the editorial sanctums of some of our great metropolitan newspapers and magazines. But perhaps that would be precluded in prison—though possible in the "free" world outside—because of the Constitutional prohibition against cruel or unusual punishment. Anyhow one of the attractions of Sing Sing is gone for the Drifter. He fears now that when he goes "up the river" there will be nothing for him to do but break stone—and even an honest life might be preferable to that!

* * * * *

"NOTABLES to Aid in Unveiling Bolivar Statue," says a newspaper headline. Needless words. Was a statue ever "unveiled" for any other purpose than that "notables" might "aid"?

* * * * *

ACCORDING to a newspaper dispatch from a correspondent in London, "The Government has scotched the Bolshevist snake in the situation before it had a fair chance to sting." Many strange things have been said of Soviet Russia, but this is the first news that Bolshevist snakes sting. Perhaps it is only the correspondent who was stung.

THE DRIFTER

# Correspondence

## A New Destiny for Ireland

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Is not the true solution of the Irish problem suggested by the recent remark of a prominent supporter of Irish independence that an Irishman is an American who has had the misfortune to be born under the British flag? Why should not Ireland become the forty-ninth free and independent State in this great and glorious Union? Ireland is as near to Washington as California and far nearer than Hawaii or Alaska, both of which will eventually become States. Ireland's senators and representatives could make the trip by fast steamer from Queenstown to New York in five days. As a part of the United States she would be more truly independent than as a miniature European republic at the mercy of any strong predatory power. With our markets thrown open freely to her products, she would prosper commercially as never before. Her State government would have absolute freedom in local affairs, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. Her sons would be eligible to the Presidency and all Federal offices. America would welcome her, for while Irishmen have always made bad British subjects, they have always made good American citizens. Half of them are with us already, and from the battle of Bunker Hill to the battle of the Argonne, Kelly and Burke and Shea have proved their loyalty on many a hard-fought field.

The English people repeat every day that Ireland can have anything she wants save only her separate republic. They say, too—and all good Americans except those blinded by ancestral hate say it with them—that good-will between Great Britain and the United States must be maintained and that war between them must be made forever impossible. Why, then, should the British not cordially acquiesce in the plan suggested? A perpetual treaty of amity and alliance should follow hard upon the admission of the State of Ireland. Great Britain could, indeed, make this a condition of her consent; but she would surely feel no fear of the nation that has lived in unruffled peace with Canada for more than a hundred years and never lifted a finger to erase imaginary boundary lines.

Objection, it is true, might come from Ulster—so lately herself in rebellion against the British Crown. Still, we have millions of citizens of North of Ireland descent who rank among our best. Who knows but that Ulster, too, could be won over, and a political revolution which would be far more significant of progress and more hopeful than any that has yet followed the war be peacefully carried through with scarcely a dissenting voice?

*Brooklyn, N. Y., April 8* F. C. W.

## A College of Solid Thinkers

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Gopher Prairie College, so aptly labeled by C. G. J. in your issue of March 16, pretends to be nothing more nor less than what she is. She did not pawn her soul to an ad writer, in preparing that book, because the text was written by a highway engineer around the fundamental points outlined by the president of the college himself, and with the directing influence of a dealer in liquid hog remedies, all graduates of the college.

That Golden Calf will not be found under one tree but under many of those fine beeches, elms, and maples of the historic campus of Gopher Prairie College. It is each of those young American men who are seeking in the classic halls, even as C. G. J., verification of their ideals. For they have ideals, and rather high they are if you remember your own college days.

It is this young man whom the Wabash of 1832 and the

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Wabash of 1921 has set up to honor. It is he to whom deference is shown, for whom sacrifices are made—for a professor too often does make sacrifices—and it is he, the student of history and of man, who is the firm foundation for this republic and for every other democratic government under the sun.

Ah, C. G. J., don't you remember when you were one of those Golden Calves? Perhaps my father was one of those professors who gave you in the classroom some of the basic reasons why Wabash is what it is. He was and is an American, and he typifies the great class of solid thinking people which accepts what is new if it is good.

Wabash is proud of the fact that she has not altered her course from Pure American Idealism in eighty-nine years. And few of her sons, thank God, have charted their courses in other, more dangerous channels, as has C. G. J., if I mistake not.

*Chicago, April 7* ROBERT KINGERY

## Kansas Court of Industrial Relations

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I read with amazement and much indignation the article on the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations law by Clyde M. Reed in your issue of April 6. As a coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America, along with all organized workers in this country, I am vitally interested in this law and I have closely followed the news with reference to it. With the exception of several articles that have appeared in employers' publications, I fail to recall a more misleading or unfair article on this subject than the one in *The Nation*.

Organized labor the country over has condemned the Kansas law for the reason that it provides for compulsory labor and makes it a crime to quit work, thereby curtailing the constitutional rights of the workers. That is the issue, the only issue. That is the principle involved, the principle upon which organized labor will fight it out. There is no room for compromise; there is no middle ground.

The fight in Kansas is not Alex Howat's fight, as Reed, in line with the employing interests, would have it appear. Neither does the radicalism or the conservatism of the Kansas miners, nor the claim that "80 per cent of the Kansas miners are foreign born or of the first generation in this country" have any bearing on the question. The matter of the personality of Alex Howat, whom Reed brands, without citing proof, as a "radical of radicals, alleged to be a member of the I. W. W., the Coal Miners' Industrial Union, and charged with contributing to the financial support of the Communist Party, in touch with the extremists of the country, and viciously fighting the Miners' International Union," does not and should not enter into the controversy. I am not writing this letter as a partisan of Howat, but I might enlighten Reed by informing him that the Illinois miners by referendum vote last summer appropriated $100,000 to aid the Kansas miners in their fight against this law. It might enlighten him further to know that the officials of the Miners' International Union are as strongly opposed to the Kansas law as is Howat. In spite of other differences between them, on this they are agreed, that the Kansas industrial court law is a menace to the workers of America, that it interferes with their constitutional rights, and must be resisted to the last ditch.

Reed cites a few individual cases and draws the inference that by these minor settlements the Kansas law can be judged. He cites that in the first year of its existence the court handled twenty-eight cases in the essential industries of the State. What is this compared to the thousands of cases settled in the same year by the Mine Workers' joint conference method in Kansas alone and the hundreds of thousands throughout the jurisdiction of the International Miners' Union, not to mention other unions? But the mere *settlement* of industrial disputes is not sufficient. No matter how well governed a people may be, if they have any self-respect they will not be satisfied unless they have something to say in their own government. So it is with the settlement of our affairs in industry. We, as self-respecting workers, demand a voice in the settlement. The voice labor demands is not that of the petitioner, but a voice in a joint conference with equitable representation, with the right to dissent and resort to its only weapon, the strike, when manifest injustices are being thrust upon the workers. The Kansas law is especially vicious in that it not only denies labor a voice in deciding these questions, but makes it a crime to disobey the mandate of a board composed of politicians appointed by a politician.

Let no one make the mistake of believing that labor in America will quietly submit to such laws. Only after our organizations have been destroyed will we be subjected, and then the need for anti-strike legislation will not exist—the employer will be able to exploit us without the aid of the power of the State. The enactment of similar legislation in other States will find organized labor in those States no more conciliatory than is Howat of Kansas.

*Belleville, Illinois, April 12* EDW. A. WIECK

## The Offspring of Familiarity

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In Mr. Villard's editorial on ex-Secretary Lansing's book I find this paragraph: "Mr. Lansing thinks that Mr. Wilson's distrust of him came originally from the fact that he is a lawyer. At the conference of the American Peace Commissioners on January 10, 1918, Mr. Wilson bluntly told Mr. Lansing that he 'did not intend to have lawyers drafting the treaty of peace.'"

Turning to the biography of Mr. Wilson in the Congressional Directory I find this statement: ". . . Following his graduation [from Princeton College] he entered the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., as a law student, and was graduated in 1881. For two years he practiced law in Atlanta, Ga." My information is that on leaving the Presidency Mr. Wilson resumed the practice of law in Washington, D. C.

What is the answer? Perhaps this excerpt from "Treasure Island"; at their first meeting, Ben Gunn says to Jim Hawkins: "Gunn . . . puts a precious sight more confidence—a precious sight, mind that—in a gen'leman born than in these gen'lemen of fortune, having been one hisself."

*Washington, D. C., April 4* J. A. HENNESY

## The American Legion

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I wonder if a sufficient number of American Legion members, especially those high in the counsels of the New York County Chapter, read the two brief editorials in *The Nation* of April 6, anent the fundamental point of consequence involved in the expulsion of Lieut. Col. Alexander E. Anderson. Inasmuch as I am a member of the American Legion and take a keen interest in its good works in behalf of the ex-service men, I wish that everyone of my comrades might give your point of view careful and thoughtful consideration.

As a non-political organization, the American Legion is doing itself immeasurable harm by attempting to pass judgment on the private or public opinions of its members. Lieut. Col. Alexander E. Anderson, expressing himself openly against the use of African troops by the French in the occupied parts of Germany, may or may not have the approval of the American people. But his motive in saying what he thinks in the matter is surely without blemish and in complete agreement with true Americanism. Personally I find nothing in his stand that is destructive of the principles and aims for which the American Legion is so energetically working. It is to be regretted that it still harbors irresponsible local agencies, such as the New

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York County Chapter, which permit themselves the costly luxury of governing their action in various important cases by their narrow-minded and bigoted views.

The issue is clear; there are no two ways about it. For the American Legion to endure as an active force in our national life, the watchword should be: "Hands off politics and leave the individual members to think and speak and write as conscience dictates!" Our ex-service-men brotherhood will thrive best under a constant discussion of the conflicting opinions concerning the great problems of the day.

In order to reestablish itself in the good opinion of the American people, the Legion through its National Executive should unequivocally repudiate the action of the New York County Chapter in expelling Lieut. Col. Alexander E. Anderson and demand his prompt restoration to his former place of honor in the post.

*Hurley, South Dakota, April 5* ISADORE BERKOWITZ

## Correcting a Historian

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Charles Andrews, in a recent issue of *The Nation*, characterizes Lincoln Colcord's attempt to demonstrate similarity between the struggle of the American colonies for independence and the present Irish struggle as not "particularly good history." Without entering into the issue under immediate controversy, upon which I have nothing to say, may I point out a statement in Mr. Andrews's letter which is not "particularly good history." Mr. Andrews states that "in the middle of the last century the concession of representative government [to Canada and Australia], the repeal of the corn laws and the navigation acts, and the eventual granting of responsible government brought to an end all desire for independence." Professor Andrews should know that the repeal of the corn laws and the navigation acts was deeply resented by the colonies, and that instead of conciliating them to the British connection it led to the development in Canada in the late forties and early fifties of a formidable movement for annexation to the United States.

*Chicago, April 11* JACOB VINER

## The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The foundations of our liberties are being destroyed. In fact, the cornerstone—"freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right to peaceably assemble"—has been blasted by legislative action, executive policy, and judicial decisions and interpretations. Our supposed Bill of Rights has been treated as a "scrap of paper." There is no need to elaborate, for everybody knows that our boasted liberty is the standing joke of the world. I am not writing this as a protest. The tyrannical usurpers care nothing for protests or petitions. I am writing to urge action, from one end of the land to the other, to secure the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall—an amendment to the Constitution restoring to the people the power to initiate and make laws, to demand a referendum upon laws made by Congress or unmade by five of the Supreme Court judges, and to recall representatives who fail to do their bidding, such as all employers have.

If in the face of all the legislative blunders and outrageous wrongs of our representatives, the rulings of departmental chiefs, and court decisions the people fail to exercise their sovereign power and demand to be clothed with the power to approve or disapprove of the acts of their servants, then there is little hope that they ever will. If the Bolshevists' regime of the dominating few is to continue unchecked, who can deny the possibility of a real bolshevist revolution?

*Paicines, California, March 21* J. W. WELLS

# I Should Like to Live in a Ballad World

By EDA LOU WALTON

I should like to live as a ballad maid
Who loves, is loved, and dies,
Or bears four sons as a matron staid
To her lord's amazed eyes.

Birth, and youth, and womanhood,
Ripe lips and golden hair,
Death and a lover understood,
And a black silk shroud to wear;

And all the long years left untold
The long hours left unsaid,
While swift, rare moments of life unfold
Bronze and silver and red.

I should like to live in a ballad world
While vivid lips of song
My leaping, lingering tale unfurled
Of a fate six stanzas long.

# Plaint

By VIRGINIA WOODS MACKALL

You can do so many things!
And I only one.
You can build monuments of triumphant stone,
You can compass large and awesome subjects,
You can subdue the sea with tree trunks,
And catch the stars in steel nets.

All I can do is to tell you about it—
To sing how great you are!
Naturally, you listen with impatience;
You have known it for a long time.

# Books

## On Fighting Japan

*Must We Fight Japan?* By Walter B. Pitkin. The Century Company.

THIS is a powerful and compelling book, packed full of meat and worthy of the most careful consideration. It is a non-partisan study of the conflicts, corrosions, and conciliations where East meets West and greed meets greed across the narrowing Pacific. The author aims to dispel illusions whether roseate or sinister and strikes hard at some of those most widely cherished. In places its tone is dogmatic, a fact to be forgiven in view of the author's wide studies and evident sincerity.

The unsophisticated visitor to the Far East is surprised and bewildered at the apparent absence of any middle ground in the judgment of Japan. Every American or European is anti-Japanese or pro-Japanese and does not care who knows it. Fulsome praise and biting criticism are heard on all sides, and each is in its degree founded on fact and each subject to gross exaggeration.

In the pro-Japanese view, the busy people of the islands are

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human beings like the rest of us, simple-hearted, sincere, courteous, lovable, idealistic folk for the most part, acutely patriotic, sensitive to praise or blame, very hospitable, very fond of companionship, prone to making judgments gregariously, and having a special genius for adaptation and cooperation. Their speech, dress, and customs have grown up in isolation, but such matters are skin-deep, in no wise fundamental to race or nation. Politically they do the best they can under changing circumstances, for the traditions and conciliations of two thousand years cannot be obliterated in a half century. The status of a people cannot be judged by present conditions, but rather by the line of direction in which it is moving.

The anti-Japanese view goes somewhat as follows: The Japanese know that Western civilization cannot be escaped, but they despise and fear it. They imitate what they cannot understand, therefore undertake what they cannot carry through. Being extremely clannish they are bad neighbors to outsiders. Individually eager for wealth, pull and graft beset every walk of life. Militarism they cherish because Germany has taught its value and it has already brought Japan into the front rank of the nations. Hence its ruling forces follow German models. The Government is a close corporation of bureaucrats, directed by the "Elder" statesmen (Genro), a clique of leaders of the three "fighting clans" (Satsuma, Choshu, Settsu), exploiters, militarists. Bureaucrats direct foreign policies and the Government subordinates personal freedom to its system of public welfare (minhon). Their water-front mobs clamor for war because war brings a livable wage. The village boss controls the rural population. Only fear of revolution gives the people any voice, and that voice, through the adroitness of the Circumlocution Office, is mostly still and small. The prophets cry in the wilderness, most earnestly, no doubt, but unheard by either of the chief political parties.

These two paragraphs I wrote in 1911. Each can be defended as true so far as it goes. They represent merely different points of view. The first arises from knowing the student-class and the bourgeoisie of the provincial towns. The second pictures some phases of the political life of the capital.

But American opinion, friendly as a whole, has become embittered by recent events in which the rulers of Japan are concerned. Toward China Japan has behaved even as the other powers have done and to the scandal of her rivals in spoliation. The twenty-one demands, the operations in Siberia, the control of Shantung, the mandate-absorption of a chain of coral reefs, have shocked our moral sense. The assertion of a "Monroe Doctrine" of monopolistic spoliation as unlike that of Monroe as our own worst attempts at perversion is naturally offensive to our own exploiters, who cannot admit it unless they can indeed strike hands with its perpetrators.

Hence arises another picture of Japan, elaborately and accurately drawn by Professor Pitkin as a composite of our "yellow journals." This view (page 40) is as false as malice can make it, but it matches perfectly the portrait of America as drawn by the yellow press of Japan, a vile caricature which seems justified by the atrocious moving picture films which our dealers dump on Japan. The "rising wave of crime" which is breaking over our cities, as shown on the front pages of our great dailies, also serves to confirm the low opinion water-front Japan already has of us.

It is true, of course, that the commercial classes in both nations are on excellent terms with each other. "Hands across the sea" are reached almost daily in San Francisco and Tokyo, and "the Pacific binds together, not separates," "two peoples destined to be each other's neighbors for a thousand years." But friendly banquets, good intentions, and fine words from internationalists and business associates do not reach the heart of the matter. The memory of Perry at Kurihama, our magnanimity at Shimonoseki, and the modesty of General Grant at Nikko do not touch the hearts of militarists bent on exalting their calling. Nor does it reach the narikin (new rich), who, bent on the conquest of Asia, regard army and navy as their own lackeys. From such conditions, found in a degree in every country, together with the ever present fear of the loss of power on the part of those who wrest it from the people, arises the "hyena theory of nations," to borrow a phrase from Pierre Loti. In accordance with this theory every nation must maintain a perpetual or chronic enemy—which is by no means to be allowed an increase of armament, such as we plan for ourselves.

This abhorrent idea being still "in the saddle," strengthened by the moral and political lapses of the war, Mr. Pitkin asks his question "Must we fight Japan?" His answer, of course, is "No," but he is not blind to dangerous tendencies on both sides of the Pacific. That such a war, whatever its nominal cause or motive, would be incalculably senseless, degrading, costly, and futile will not of itself ward it off. The wisdom of Norman Angell's "Great Illusion" did not save Europe in 1914. Powerful forces are working now for war; greater forces, though less active, are drawing toward peace. War and peace are possibilities; neither is a certainty.

Mr. Pitkin has developed a number of vital propositions, only a few of which I have space to summarize. The Japanese press notes our imperial expansion in Asia, while we are active in blocking all Japanese moves in that direction. In these matters and others our attitude is regarded as both unjust and provocative. From Perry's expedition of coercion through our successive seizures of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Guam we have stood in the way of Japan's normal extension. We have been high-handed in dealing with Japanese who are legally in America and we have drawn lines of racial discrimination such as we have not dared to apply to Europe. We (that is, some Americans) have tried to monopolize Asiatic trade, to withhold Japan's coveted prizes of war, to restrain her salutary entrance into Siberia and Mongolia, to stimulate Korean unrest, to bankrupt Japan by forcing on her a ruinous naval expansion, to say nothing of the varied mendacity tolerated in our press. In every Congress humiliating bills are introduced, without official check, and apparently for no other purpose save insult, our two political parties being alike in these regards.

Without discussing this one-sided view of patent facts, I have found Japanese officials rarely able to understand why our Government allows the press to promulgate slanderous lies. Examples of this are found in the wild extravagances which centered in 1911 about Magdalena Bay and which gave rise to the "Lodge Resolution," fortunately left unsigned by President Taft. We may read any day that the "Japanese have no home life," tea-house and geisha monopolizing men's attention; that Japanese banks employ Chinese tellers, not trusting their own people; and the like *ad nauseam*. In 1911, I had what was called "a heart-to-heart talk" with members of the Sayonji ministry, and the question of why our Government allows such wholesale lying was the first that arose. The answer was simple: A free press, even if venal and mendacious, is safer than a censored one, as it is better for the people to decide public questions badly than to have them adjusted from above.

Mr. Pitkin regards the strongest influence for peace, so far as the United States is concerned, as resting in "the widespread disgust and disillusionment as to the value of war as a method of getting results." The only result of the late victory worth the name has been the crumpling of a pasteboard Caesar, at the cost of a ruined continent. Our author finds further that the intellectual classes of the world are getting together. "In this movement the intellectuals of Japan are playing a worthy part, at times under handicaps little realized by us." Moreover, Japan as a nation is on the verge of bankruptcy without the resource utilized by Germany of wholesale robbery of her own people. Japan's industries are dependent on the United States, and our nation "will not be dragged into any but the most obviously defensive war, *unless the public* is tricked by politicians or propaganda." That "Europe, as everybody knows, but few like to say, is insolvent from Bordeaux to the Urals" is also "a tremendous insurance against war." "The most un-

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popular proposal that the mind of man could invent and present to Americans today would be one calling to an increase of taxes to be spent in an army and navy."

But nations bankrupt and inchoate still fight on, throwing stolen money after bad, their soldiers the only people who escape starvation. Meanwhile Japan has not learned the lesson of "The Great Illusion." Rulers and common people alike fail to realize that "money spent on wars of conquest is a dead loss and worse." There is danger not alone from militarists and from fools or kaisers in power. Beggars have been known "to smash in shop windows to seize a loaf of bread." Two classes in every country can always be reckoned as in favor of war: those who gain by war and war preparation, and those who have nothing to lose. Withal we have to deal with "that fatal incapacity of most men to think clearly and take intelligent action concerning matters that lie beyond the routine of everyday life." The crimes of diplomacy are due far more often to ignorance than to malice. Even in high places, "there is no substitute for intelligence." Moreover, we must count on the venerable tradition that an insult from one politician to another is reasonable cause of war even at the cost of national suicide. This idea is a sort of survival which used to lead the insulted Samurai to commit suicide when homicide was not practicable.

Our author gives us a certain assurance that both Japan and the United States are impregnable from the sea. The most that either could do, without base of supplies in a military way, would be the burning or poisoning of a few coast cities. Incidentally Japan would be debarred from her best customers, her necessary machinery, and from future trade—a corresponding result, though less damaging, naturally following on the other side.

I cannot claim the space necessary even for an outline of this close-packed book. Mr. Pitkin regards the Japanese question in California as part of a world problem never to be settled, but to be ameliorated by wise statesmanship. Japan, with small areas of great richness and a wilderness of mountains, is vastly overcrowded. The great empty areas in the north and in Korea, fit for grazing and little else, cannot be utilized without capital and without a market for products. Milk, butter, and cheese find little market in Asia. Cattle, dwarfish and half-starved, are beasts of burden mainly and in regions virtually destitute of roads. The outlook for sheep raising is better and is being considered. Japan has been too much occupied with her place among the nations to build adequate railways, or even public roads. Korea has the former, thanks to the enterprise of Baron Shibusawa, but a system of highways would be a grotesque novelty. Those farmers who have any capital or hold on the land will not leave their present homes "where our customs fit us like a garment." Those who can be moved are in general the homeless farm-hands, the class with which the enterprise of our steamship companies populated Hawaii, or the unskilled workmen of the cities. The birth-rate question, I may say in a word, appears nowhere as racial. The percentage falls just as soon as woman is emancipated to the extent involved in separate apartments. And within limits as the birth-rate falls the survival rate rises.

The notion that the Asiatic races will by a "rising tide of color" get together and overwhelm the white races our author deservedly treats with scant respect. The white races have their enemies within—mainly war and vice. I may note further that the blend of races which inhabits Japan is at least as near Caucasian as Mongolian, and in everything except looks has more in common with Southern Europe than with China. The Japanese are no more inscrutable than any other divergent race, if we get behind the veil of language and tradition. The rising generation of Japanese who acquire citizenship assimilate almost perfectly in all matters except in looks, much more readily and fully than most of the Mediterranean races. And in this connection I may add that the strongest single bond of peace is found in the thousands of Japanese men and women educated in the universities of America and England. These imbibe all our traditional college loyalty, with a real appreciation of the advantages of democracy, however defective, over the bureaucracy and political favoritism which they encounter at home.

Mr. Pitkin's work, so far as details are concerned, centers about affairs in California. In spite of his thoroughness and general sobriety, he finds this problem full of pitfalls. Special criticism of minor matters is ungracious, but the light needs shifting a little.

It is quite true, as he says, that the state of mind in California cannot be set aside as "a case of nerves." It is rather a recurrent malady which comes on every fourth year, after the fashion of the seven-year cicada. Save for a few internationalists and a few purveyors of cheap labor, no one here wants to see California racially stratified or marred by class distinctions. Cheap labor or alien labor would enrich the State, while impoverishing its society. In the late election the act further restricting Japanese agricultural activities was passed by a vote of about two to one. The vote of the 200,000 who opposed this bill deserves an analysis. It comprises in general the commercial classes, the churches, the university people, and the large number who hate to see California take a blundering initiative in international affairs, matters in which it entangles the whole nation while assuming no responsibility of its own. As Roosevelt is largely quoted, they would not discredit his dictum: "It always pays for a nation to be a gentleman."

It is not true that Japan in any official sense has pushed into California. Apparently most of the farm laborers came from Hawaii. When we annexed those islands, half the population was Japanese. It is so still. It was then dominated by a small but interesting and forceful oligarchy of Americans with thousands of plantation serfs, brought in from every country from which cheap labor could be secured. Hawaii was then, and is still, in a degree a commercial and social annex of California. As to the acts of their nationals in Hawaii, the Government of Japan may have wishes or opinions but can exercise no control. The "Gentleman's Agreement" might be made more restrictive. The Japanese Government will respond to any courteous request, or to any adjustment that will not overturn politics at home, but there is no evidence that the present agreement has been violated even in a single case. Nor is it likely that any considerable number of Japanese have been illegally smuggled in. A system of registration could be used to prevent this.

The agitation against the Japanese in California seems to have four separate motives: (1) The desire to elect officials on an anti-Japanese platform; (2) the desire to prevent the growth and spread of alien colonies; (3) the desire to cut off immigration of labor from Asia; (4) the desire to keep up a chronic sore in our relations with Japan. This fourth may be the motive of the yellow press, to see that "something is doing," or it may have the motive equally sinister, but more dangerous, of spreading war-scares, for the purposes of a larger army, a greater navy, or even a bigger naval base on San Francisco Bay.

As to the second of these, I may say that Japanese legally here will not go home. They are clannish partly because we make them so. It is never wise to exclude from citizenship any group of permanent residents. The Japanese, Chinese, and Hindus should be allowed to find their way to citizenship, not an easy way, and not without renunciation of any rights at home. To enter our cosmopolitan nation does not mean intermarriage—that is a personal matter. Nor should it depend on race or religion or any other condition save personal fitness and orderly behavior.

As to checking immigration from Asia, we shall find ample help in cooperation with the Japanese Government. They would rather our people knew Japan from scholars, travelers, and business men than from the overflow of the rice fields. The leaders understand, as I have often said to them, that just such an opposition as has grown up in California would rise in Japan if a colony of Americans, Italians, or Siamese should establish

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themselves among the "Seven Beauties of Omi." The case is "a condition not a theory." But the matter is not helped by gross exaggeration of the present "menace," nor by its use as leverage in local politics. To use it as a means of promoting militarism and war expense is even more reprehensible and more dangerous. The real problem of immigration is how to maintain our own democratic standards of living in the face of hordes who have never known it and have never known how to demand it.

Mr. Pitkin outlines an international policy which should permanently dispose of the "Japanese crisis." Not much (however wise) of it will be accepted by America or Japan, for rulers are short-sighted as compared with professors, and the art of government is the most backward of all human enterprises. One element of most importance is the restoration of farm industry by relieving it of the heavy burdens laid on it in the interest of manufacture and commerce. The rush to the cities is becoming appalling. Meanwhile it is "not a mass movement" but individual. "Every person who moves from the country to the city does so for individual reasons."

To this volume are contributed certain "expert opinions" of high value. Professor E. T. Williams of the University of California writes on Conflicting National Policies; Mr. Warren S. Thompson on Cheap Labor and Standards of Living; Professor Elwood Mead on New Agrarian Policies; and Professor S. J. Holmes on Racial Intermarriage. The last essay may be specially commended as a just summing up of our knowledge and ignorance of much-vexed questions.

DAVID STARR JORDAN

## From Locke to Bentham

*Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham.* By Harold J. Laski. (Home University Library.) Henry Holt and Company.

RARELY has the task of summarizing the main characteristics of an intellectual movement been performed with more notable success than that which Professor Laski has attained in this concise account of the development of English political thought from Locke to Bentham. Any writer who essays to narrate the history of ideas is beset by two dangers. One is the danger of framing a series of essentially detached studies whose subjects are the more striking personalities of the period with which he deals. The other is that of forcing an appearance of development or logical connection where in fact little or none exists. Mr. Laski has avoided both of these pitfalls. Naturally, the men whose writings bulk largest in his brief survey are the dominating thinkers of the time—Locke, Hume, Burke, Adam Smith; but the sketches of the work and teachings of these leaders are so skilfully interwoven with equally just appreciations of lesser writers and, what is quite as important, with a review of the political and economic history of the period, as to show clearly such coherent development as actually took place. It was with the eighteenth century as history shows it to have been with other centuries—a few profound thinkers opened the greater highways while a host of lesser workers scouted the forests, blazed connecting trails, or toiled at the debris which others had left; and if we get from Mr. Laski's illuminating pages a matured philosophic view of Locke and Hume and Burke, we also see in judicial setting the work of Leslie and Hoadley and Bolingbroke, of Blackstone and Tucker and Delolme, of the nonjurors and the protagonists of the Bangorian controversy.

Broadly stated, the problem of English political philosophy in the eighteenth century was to find a sound doctrine of democracy after the Revolution of 1688 had made an end to the doctrine of the divine right of kings. It was the task of Locke to justify the changes of 1688. He was hampered by his lack of perception of "the psychological foundations of politics," he was bound to the theory of the social contract as "the only possible retort to the theory of divine right," and in his doctrine as a whole there is little that is novel; but he nevertheless stated more clearly than either Hobbes or Burke "the general problem of the modern state." One would like to know, however, why Locke's view of toleration was apparently less generous when he published his great "Letter on Toleration" than it was when he drafted the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," some twenty years before. Mr. Laski's exposition of the long controversy over the theory of the relation of church and state, which followed naturally from Locke's attempt to separate the visible church from the essence of religion and to exalt the state above the church, is able to the point of brilliancy, and the more because the essential nature of the problem of religion as distinct from the problem of ecclesiasticism is not at any time lost sight of. If the problem remained unsolved throughout the period to which the book relates, and remains unsolved now—witness the diametrically contrasted claims of Lord Haldane and the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1919 (pp. 125, 126)—it was not from lack of proffered solutions or acrimonious debate, but because the problem itself is insoluble save on the familiar British plane of compromise. So also one must say of the mooted issues of non-resistance and passive obedience and of the deeper question of revolution.

The period of political stagnation which extended from the accession of George I to the fall of Walpole, in 1742, at least prepared the way for Hume, the first series of whose essays was published in the latter year. The most that Mr. Laski can say for Hume is that he is suggestive and that utilitarianism owes its foundation to him, but neither the man nor his times permitted the erection of a system. Until 1770, when Burke's "Thoughts on the Present Discontents" appeared, "there is no work on English politics of the first importance." But it was the period in which the ideas of Montesquieu and Rousseau were making themselves felt, when Blackstone in his "Commentaries" was presenting a picture of the English Constitution as it was not, and when the beginnings of revolution in America were dividing political theorists and practical politicians alike. That Burke should have had "the singular good fortune . . . not merely to obtain acceptance as the apostle of philosophic conservatism, but to give deep comfort to men of liberal temper" is the more surprising in view of the fact that "he was not a democrat, and at bottom . . . had little regard for that popular sense of right which, upon occasion, he was ready to praise." It is easy to see that his unselfishness, his keen insight, his maxims of political wisdom, his emphasis upon practical accommodation in the face of complex difficulties, and the noble sweep of his literary style should have made him lovable; but in hardly any other respect, and least of all as the expounder of a coherent system of political philosophy, is anyone who reads Mr. Laski's analysis likely to think Burke great. The real precursor of liberalism Mr. Laski finds in Adam Smith. It was, indeed, to be a liberalism which saw the state as something "untrammeled in its economic life by moral considerations," but it was also "the road to those categories wherein the old conception of cooperative effort might find a new expression."

WILLIAM MACDONALD

## First Aid to Authors

*The Lure of the Pen.* By Flora Klickmann. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

*If You Don't Write Fiction.* By Charles Phelps Cushing. Robert M. McBride and Company.

*A Plea for Popular Science.* By Edwin E. Slosson. Eilert Printing Company.

SOMETIME in his life, it would seem, every magazine editor becomes surfeited with manuscripts pencil-written on both sides of foolscap sheets, rolled, and tied with a pink ribbon. Then he does one of two things. Either he becomes a hopeless

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misanthrope, or he writes a book to inform the young and ambitious author how it should be done. To the second class belong Miss Klickmann, Mr. Cushing, and in a measure Dr. Slosson. All write from editorial experience. All write to that vast army of inexperienced men and women who wish to write acceptable articles on some subject or other for contemporary magazines.

Miss Klickmann, editor of *The Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine*, has chosen a good title for her purpose. "The Lure of the Pen: A Book for Would-be Authors" would lure few readers who would not profit from her remarks. The high school girl who writes of bloody murder and disappointed love, the idle wife who essays descriptive fiction because her friends assure her she writes charming letters, the heartbroken biographer of a deceased lapdog would find Miss Klickmann's volume full of much needed, even if discouraging advice. They are warned against sending to the editor illegible manuscript, writing voluminous explanatory letters, or camping on his or her doorstep. They are urged to have something to say, to say it in straightforward, colloquial language, and to send it to the editor of a publication which circulates among that class of readers who are likely to want to read it. One would suppose that such elementary advice would be unnecessary; but in spite of the correspondence schools, the fact remains that there are still novices who would profit from Miss Klickmann's devastating common-sense and who could follow it if they had a chance.

Mr. Cushing has addressed a similar reading public of inexperienced young people who "want to write." But in subject matter there is a difference. Conceding the fact that the publisher's lists are well supplied with textbooks and treatises on the technique of the short story, he has written a guidebook to the marketing of non-fiction. Mr. Cushing says very little about composition. He believes that if the writer has the "nose for news" and sends to the proper magazine an article on the proper subject, illustrated with proper photographs, post-card size, on gloss paper, the absence of style will matter little. The rewrite man on the magazine will inject the style along with the grammar. But in the entertaining exposition of the obvious Mr. Cushing is at home. He tells the neophyte to start his manuscript half way down the first page, and inclose a self-addressed envelope for its possible return, but he tells him so gaily and with such an air of comradeship that his advice loses its power to blight. The charm of this thin little book lies in the delightful autobiographical chapters. These chapters of narrative are more instructive and heartening than the exposition of how long to expose a film. They instruct the ambitious youngster by their examples of industry, common-sense, and persistence, and hearten him with their good spirits, vigor, and the example of the common obstacles overcome.

But after all it is Mr. Slosson who should have done a book on the art and craft of writing informative articles for the magazines. Authors, old and young, would have profited from his fourfold angle of vision as scientist, teacher, author, and editor. Instead, in a pamphlet of fifteen pages he has reprinted two articles and the substance of an address to the School of Journalism, Columbia University. In the first article he laments the scientist's inability to write clearly and interestingly for a wider public, and the writer's blindness to the rich material buried in scientific publications. In the second paper, The Middleman in Science, he points out the importance, the difficulty, and the methods of communicating to the intelligent but uninformed reader the revolutionary truths discovered by the scientist. The last item is a series of Don'ts for would-be writers of scientific articles for the public press. Quotable as these aphorisms are, they should be read in their context. Two kinds of people study the art of writing—those who "want to write" and those who wish to learn how to say something to someone. Mr. Slosson is writing for the second group.

DONALD LEMEN CLARK

## Books in Brief

"THE Behavior of Crowds" by Everett Dean Martin (Harpers) is not an attack on democracy, like Gustave Le Bon's "The Crowd." Mr. Martin, believing the crowd to be identifiable with no particular class, is interested merely in analyzing its processes whenever and wherever they begin, and in suggesting a cure for its invariable intellectual devastations. His analysis is psychoanalysis, and his cure is pragmatism or pluralism. The crowd mind, he says, is a sick mind, requiring some such treatment as is required for paranoia in the individual. It is collective self-delusion, feeding on platitudes and never learning anything. Among the governing classes—in a Department of Justice, for instance—it takes the form of the persecution-mania; a group begins to consider itself society and charges that another group—the Bolshevists, for instance—is the negation of society. Among the governed classes it lives on the dream-stuff of Utopias, which comprise "a mechanism of compensation and escape for suppressed desires." In time of war among all classes it automatically releases the cruelty in our natures which the censorship of peace has kept unconscious. Always it is futile, obscuring, and vicious, and we shall continue to suffer from its fogs until we cease to be idealists, absolutists, Platonists, until we cease to hunger after unity, and become strong enough to stand each by himself before a complicated world whose problems call for analysis rather than agitation. Mr. Martin has written a stimulating book, less valuable perhaps for its formal applications of Freud and Schiller and James than for its detailed diagnoses and its numerous illustrations drawn from a rich experience.

FROM the notebooks kept throughout his thinking years by "W. N. P. Barbellion," or Bruce Frederick Cummings, two volumes, "The Journal of a Disappointed Man" and "Enjoying Life," have been published. Now "A Last Diary" (Doran), scribbled between March 21, 1918, and June 3, 1919, while Barbellion was dying and waiting chiefly for a copy of the "Journal" to come from the printer's with H. G. Wells's preface, is put forth with an excellent life of the naturalist by his brother, A. J. Cummings. The volume is much shorter than either of the other two, and in a sense contains no ideas that they did not, but it will be welcome to those who are for possessing every published word of this brilliant, pathetic man. His passion for life is as hopeless and strong as ever here, except that death, being definitely expected, presses his humor into constant play and sharpens his vision of nature till it is desperately keen. On almost the last day he observed: "Rupert Brooke said the brightest thing in the world was a leaf with the sun shining on it. God pity his ignorance! The brightest thing in the world is a Ctenophor in a glass jar standing in the sun."

SEVEN new anthologies with a civilizing trend attest the vitality of literary man's passion for "selecting and arranging." "A Book of Jewish Thoughts, Selected and Arranged by the Chief Rabbi (Dr. J. H. Hertz)" (Oxford) is a learned collection of the profoundest tributes that have been paid to the Jewish race by its own members and others, and a summing up of the best that has been said by Jews. "The Great Kinship, an Anthology of Humanitarian Poetry," edited by Bertram Lloyd (London: George Allen and Unwin), represents an unusually intelligent and profitable search for zoophilist poetry among the peoples of Europe during the past three centuries. "French Fireside Poetry, with Metrical Translations and an Introduction by the late M. Betham-Edwards" (Small, Maynard) attempts to do for French poetry what more pretentious volumes in English have never done—show the kind of verse which the French are fond of and safe in reciting en famille. Many of the pieces are mediocre in translation because they were insipid in the original, but eleven fables from Florian are included, and they are delicious. "The Writer's Art, by

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Those who have Practiced It" (Harvard), selected and arranged by Rollo Walter Brown, is a corpus of disquisitions on the art of prose by nineteenth-century masters who were all reflective and attentive as regards their art. "Songs of Joy" (Oxford), compiled by Grace Beckett, is a brilliant little repertory of the highest-spirited lyrics in the English language. It has no false note anywhere—something that cannot be said for "Star-Points: Songs of Joy, Faith, and Promise from the Present-Day Poets" (Houghton Mifflin), selected by Mrs. Waldo Richards, which mixes trash with treasure in about equal proportions. "A Physician's Anthology of English and American Poetry" (Oxford), selected by Casey A. Wood and Fielding H. Garrison, is an excellent volume intended as a tribute to Sir William Osler before he died and dedicated now to his memory. It is calculated to humanize doctors who are too stern realists, but members of other professions may benefit by Shakespeare and Whitman.

# Drama

## Margaret Anglin

MISS ANGLIN dares to be heroic; she has the courage of the grand style. It is a rare thing today and only success can make it a virtue. For all the arts have a constant tendency toward the ease of the rhetorical gesture, toward externality and glitter and the trumpet tone. The danger is never so far that we can afford many unguarded moments. To write merely sonorous verses, to wear golden armor on the stage and use one's voice like a 'cello, to build orotund prose periods—these are great temptations to the child strutting in each of us. Think of the fine writing we once perpetrated, the noble gestures with which we once debated. Now our cheeks burn at the memory. Yes, to dare to be heroic is to dare greatly. Perhaps it was to prepare herself for this venture that Miss Anglin acted all winter in "The Woman of Bronze" and wrung the last ounce of inner veracity from an inferior part. Now she acts Joan of Arc (Shubert Theater) and Clytemnestra in the "Iphigenia in Aulis" (Manhattan Opera House) and gives one a strong impression of bound wings set free.

"The Trial of Joan of Arc" by Emile Moreau cannot, by any stretch of language, be called a good play. It is like an old-fashioned historical painting. Its explicitness is deadly and its purpose is to edify. It draws largely upon historical fact but in a wholly uncritical fashion. It does not attempt to interpret a spiritual crisis but to solidify a legend. That legend, however, has a beauty of its own, and one allows, in the end, for the too immaculate dungeon, the hopeless artificiality of the alternation of jangle and pause in the trial scene, the conscious overpicturesqueness of the poses when the smoke of the pyre floats into the portico. It is a devotional picture. But in the center of the picture stands Miss Anglin as Joan, dun and simple amid the flash of color, unbelievably young, almost with a touch of boyishness, quite unaffected amid so much tortuousness and stiff sophistication. Yet she always remains within the picture. Her simplicity is not that of a peasant girl, carefully as the human touches and recorded words are woven in, but that of a saint. She is not simple like a tree but like a staff of bronze; it is not a simplicity that has grown but one that has been fashioned. She writhes on the wooden couch of the dungeon not like a woman in pain but like an angel in exile, and even her great human moment of terror and recantation is, we know at once, only the prelude of a more eloquent and fervent triumph. Style, in a word, is substituted for reality—a style that glows and has deep modulations, but always style. The imitative function of art is slurred. And Miss Anglin, when she lifts up her voice, declaims. At all the tense moments it is not acting; it is pure declamation. But it is like the declamation of gorgeous yet clear odes. Her voice has a great swell and lift and curves of tonal beauty that never become monotonous by repetition but are like the recurrent stanzaic measures of a noble poem—not the flaming music of Crashaw or Shelley, but the easy though determined elevation of Pindar or Gray. There is more breadth than intimacy and more splendor than passion. Yet do not the very terms of this characterization illustrate the nature of Miss Anglin's achievement? To what other American actress could they have been applied without obvious absurdity?

The "Iphigenia in Aulis" of Euripides is, of course, a play of very different caliber from Moreau's picturesque chronicle. It is a very curious play indeed, full of a conscious or unconscious but unmistakable world-historic irony. Iphigenia is to be sacrificed so that the gods may raise a wind by which the Greeks can set sail for Troy. And why are the Greeks to sail and the bodies of thousands of them to be eaten by the ravens of the Ilian plain? Because a light woman who happened to be the wife of a magnate had run away with a roving gallant. The other magnates were naturally indignant and went in for a pompous anti-Trojan propaganda and declared the country to be in danger. When Iphigenia first appears the propaganda had obviously not touched her yet. The notion of having her throat cut on the altar of Artemis does not commend itself to her. But presently the patriotic flame kindles her heart. She is willing to die, glad to die—for Greece, for Greece. As Miss Mary Fowler stood there and spoke to the skilfully orchestrated strains of Dr. Walter Damrosch's music, one almost believed that it was indeed for Greece instead of for the shabby interests of an individual and a class. Is this an ultra-modern and irreverent interpretation of the tale of Troy divine? Well, it is no more than Euripides makes Clytemnestra say in terms that admit of no misunderstanding. No doubt he had to confine this reasoning to the lips of an angry woman and outraged mother. Perhaps the one-hundred-percent Athenians in his audience would not have tolerated a more directly rational interpretation of the great national legend. But the words and their meaning are clear and no one can doubt, from the Euripidean account, that Clytemnestra did right to be angry and had cause to feel outraged. Her story throws a strong light forward into the future and makes the murdered Agamemnon seem a far less tragic and pitiable figure.

Miss Anglin plays the part of Clytemnestra with passion but with less iron forcefulness than one had, perhaps, a right to expect. Mellowness and aspiration and a soaring energy are more native to her than rage and reason and compact power. When she uses the grand style her wings are better than her feet. The performance, however, was a notably interesting and beautiful one. The choral odes were declaimed a little thickly. We have heard them more clearly enunciated and far more rhythmically led. The dances, on the other hand, had a wild and natural grace, and the blending throughout of primitive force with tempered and harmonious motion showed the skill and imagination of the producers.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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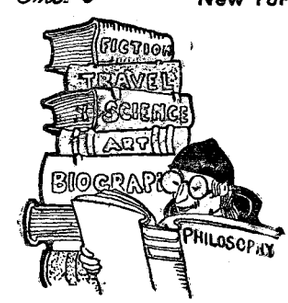

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# International Relations Section

## A Decree Establishing Free Ports in Mexico

THE following decree of Provisional President de la Huerta on the establishment of free ports in Mexico appeared in the *Diario Oficial* of October 11, 1920. It represents the beginning of two great social reforms—free trade and the single tax. Engineers, headed by Modesto C. Rolland, the originator of the project, are at work now on the practical details involved in the carrying out of this decree. The first free ports will be those of Puerto Mexico (Coatzacoalcos) on the Atlantic and Salina Cruz on the Pacific. A railroad connects the two, and before the days of the Panama Canal an enormous traffic was carried on between them. By means of its free-trade project, the Government hopes to revive these ports. A free zone will be established midway between the two ports, and here the single-tax system will be tried out with the idea of extending it to the rest of the Republic if it proves successful.

I, Adolfo de la Huerta, Acting Constitutional President of the United States of Mexico, in accordance with the extraordinary powers granted to me with relation to the treasury, considering:

1. That the geographic situation of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec qualifies it to serve both as a transportation route and as a commercial distributing station for European and Oriental countries, as well as for North and South America, and that the National Railroad of Tehuantepec was constructed and improved for the purpose of filling the needs of international traffic;

2. That in spite of the fact that the merchandise transported from one ocean to the other is not subject to customs duties, being merchandise for transportation only, nevertheless, fiscal intervention in the conveyance of these goods between Puerto Mexico and Salina Cruz has been a serious obstacle to international commerce because of the red tape with regard to customs and other matters to which the merchants and transporters are subject; wherefore it is necessary to abolish all this red tape relating to merchandise which is not being brought in for home consumption if the railroad is to fulfil the purpose for which it was created;

3. That some European ports, even though not situated in such exceptionally advantageous locations as the ports of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, have extensions known as free ports, where fiscal formalities do not apply and where merchandise destined for reexportation is not subject to duty;

4. That the customs extensions must not favor any merchandise except that for transportation or for reexportation from the country, and that the creation of these extensions must not injuriously affect other ports on the Gulf or on the Pacific used for importation or exportation of merchandise meant only for home consumption or produced in the country, and that there is, therefore, no obstacle of a mercantile nature to hinder the establishment of free ports on both shores of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec;

5. That the zones of the free ports can serve as districts for the concentration of raw materials produced in various countries of the world, which can be manufactured in these zones, and in general free ports can be used for the establishment under favorable conditions of industries for the manufacture of all kinds of national and imported raw materials, which when manufactured can be freely reexported abroad, thus improving the general economic situation of the country, and most particularly of the working classes;

6. That at the same time the establishment of free ports will permit the opening of large stations where various raw materials can be mixed, for the advantage of those that can be sold only in that form in certain regions [illegible] obstacle;

7. That the port of Guay[illegible] admirably situated because of its location on the Gulf of [illegible]lifornia, because of its position with regard to American a[illegible]siatic commerce, and because also of its importance as an [illegible]et of the Southern Pacific Railroad, which would transport to this place the native products of the whole western part of the Republic, the organization of a free extension in this port will convert it into a most active center of traffic and industry, an impossible condition today because of the present economic situation which the creation of the free port would radically change;

8. That the establishment of free ports on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and at Guaymas, besides giving an extraordinary impetus to national commerce, will bring the other nations into closer contact with our country;

9. That for its most effective operation it is indispensable that the zone established by the free port should be exempt from fiscal laws which are detrimental to industry and commerce, because this zone is considered neutral and must be so, in order to get rid of all kinds of obstacles to the natural development of free ports, and because the sum total of these fiscal charges will be considered as included in the rents and indemnities paid by the commercial and industrial establishments, as provided in this law;

10. That the establishment of these ports is a public utility and justly constitutes a case for the application of expropriation as constitutionally authorized; and that, in accordance with the constitutional provision, and because otherwise it would be difficult in every way, it must be established that all lands pertaining to the zone of the free port must always belong to the nation, and can never be taken away from it;

11. That it is imperative to establish a relatively autonomous council of directors to take charge of the management, administration, and development of the free ports and other enterprises connected therewith, in order to make of them a commercial organization and to bring about the greatest amount of decentralization, as well as to determine the most efficient method of holding responsible those who manage public works;

12. That the members of this council must be named by the Government, which must draw up a contract for their services for a reasonable term, in order to insure the cooperation of competent persons who can dedicate themselves to the important work which is intrusted to them with the security offered them by their respective contracts;

13. That to carry out the purposes of the free ports of Salina Cruz and Puerto Mexico, as well as to fulfil the aims for which the National Railroad of Tehuantepec was created, it is absolutely necessary for this enterprise also to be administered by the above-mentioned council, in order to facilitate traffic and to avoid tariff difficulties, as well as to prevent, by means of an adequate organization, fiscal obstacles from interfering with the free interoceanic traffic of merchandise, and also to protect the interests of the national treasury;

14. That since the climate of Salina Cruz and Puerto Mexico might be detrimental to the development of certain industries, it is advisable to establish a neutral zone or free port in the interior of the Isthmus along the route of the National Railroad of Tehuantepec, where climatic conditions are more favorable, and where, moreover, the products of the region can be more easily concentrated and can find a certain market;

and, acting upon these considerations, have decided to decree the following:

Article 1. Free customs extensions shall be established in the ports of Salina Cruz, Puerto Mexico, and Guaymas.

Art. 2. These extensions, which shall be called "free ports," shall be considered as additions to the marine customs houses

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to which they belong, and consequently shall be subject only to the jurisdiction of the Federal authorities.

Art. 3. The free ports shall be governed exclusively by this law, its regulations, and the provisions of the sanitary laws.

Art. 4. In the free ports merchandise of all kinds shall come and go without entries subject to tariff laws. For the entrance of arms and munitions of war that authorization by the consular officer of the country concerned shall be needed.

Art. 5. In the free ports all kinds of merchandise may be stored, exhibited, unpacked, repacked, refined, purified, manufactured, mixed, and transformed into any form freely, subject only to the provisions of this law.

Art. 6. The ships entering and leaving the free ports shall not be subject to any formalities except those established by the laws for sanitation and for employment of pilots.

Art. 7. The Secretary of the Treasury shall organize and direct the free ports, designate the extension and boundaries of each one, generally determine upon the methods necessary to carry out the present decree, and, wherever advisable, reform and add to the General Customs Ordinance and the regulations relating thereto.

Art. 8. The organization, administration, and management of the free ports shall be directly under the control of a council composed of five members, one of whom shall act as chairman. The Secretary of the Treasury shall draw up a contract for each member of the Council of Directors, for a period not exceeding five years. The council shall have full authority to appoint and remove all other employees.

Art. 9. All contributions and duties that should fall upon industrial or commercial establishments and operations in the free ports will be considered as included in the rents and indemnities paid by these establishments in accordance with the following article, for which reason such establishments should not be called upon to pay any duties.

Art. 10. The Council of Directors must draw up contracts which provide against the transfer of ownership, and which are favorable to the establishment and development of mills, stores, general storage houses, factories, shops, banking and commercial institutions, and public works within these free ports, in accordance with the tariffs and regulations approved by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Art. 11. The Secretary of the Treasury, through the Council of Directors, shall expropriate the lands necessary for the establishment and enlargement of the free ports, in accordance with the following procedure:

(a) Payment of indemnity to the owner of the expropriated land, as provided in paragraph 8 of Article 27 of the Constitution;

(b) The declaration of expropriation shall be made to the Secretary of the Treasury, after which the Council of Directors can, in case of failure of the owner to comply, apply to the district judge to obtain immediate possession of the land;

(c) Any owner resisting the declaration of expropriation can oppose it through judicial channels within thirty days following the date of expropriation;

(d) When the owner of the land is not definitely known, the declaration of the Secretary of the Treasury shall be made public for two weeks in the form designated by the regulation, and if at the end of this period the owner appears, the procedure designated above shall be followed;

(e) The whole process shall be governed by these regulations.

Art. 12. When the Council of Directors declares that the free ports of Salina Cruz and Puerto Mexico are open for traffic, the administration, management, and development of the National Railroad of Tehuantepec shall be turned over to this council, which shall make a careful inventory of the enterprise.

Art. 13. There shall be established, at a point designated by the Council of Directors, on the route of the National Railroad of Tehuantepec a free interior port, with the exemptions established by this law.

Art. 14. The Council of Directors shall determine the methods necessary to bring the free ports of Salina Cruz and Puerto Mexico in contact with the interior free zone referred to in the preceding article, in such a way as to avoid fiscal obstacles and formalities, and at the same time to provide a reasonable guaranty to financial interests.

Art. 15. The Council of Directors shall name the day on which the free ports authorized by this decree will be opened for international traffic.

Article 16. The Council of Directors shall propose to the Secretary of the Treasury the regulations and provisions necessary for the carrying out of this decree.

Art. 17. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to invest a sum not exceeding $500,000 toward the expropriation of lands, the construction of the necessary works, and the maintenance of the personnel and services of the free ports.

Art. 18. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller-General of the Nation shall be responsible for the employment of funds, and for the execution of the laws, regulations, and tariffs, as well as of the contracts made by the Council of Directors, through the agency of an authority which each of them shall appoint for the purpose.

Meanwhile, I demand the printing, publication, circulation, and careful examination of this decree.

## The Reduction and Reorganization of the Army

In the *Diario Oficial* of March 17 appeared the following Presidential decree on the reduction and education of the army:

CONSIDERING, That one of the most urgent demands of the nation is for the reduction of the standing army to a size which may permit it to accomplish its important function, and at the same time not be a heavy financial burden upon the nation by disturbing the equilibrium of the public finances and contributing to the imposition of onerous taxes, and estimating that an army of 50,000 men, well-armed, organized, and disciplined, could carry out the task intrusted to it, and realize the strongly felt national aspirations;

CONSIDERING, That it is also palpably necessary to spread, as far as possible, education and culture among the troops, so as to place the army on a level with contemporary civilization and to obtain a better military discipline. . . ;

CONSIDERING, That the army is the guardian of the country's honor and of its institutions, and for that reason it ought not to, nor can it, be stained by sending out under its banner individuals stamped with the stigma of vice or crime;

Accordingly, I have the honor to submit for the approval of the Chamber of Deputies the following proposed law, which reforms Articles 1, 3, and 673 of the General Organization of the army and adds notes to the same regulation, in the following terms:

ARMY

Article 1. The forces of the nation which carry on war in defense of independence, integrity, and honor and secure constitutional order and peace in the interior constitute the army and navy of the country and are directly responsible to the President of the Republic, and in time of peace will have an effective organization of not more than 50,000 men.

Art. 3. The standing army is characterized by length of service. Those who belong to it follow a professional career, the term of which will be decided by a general of a division in the army, and a rear-admiral in the navy.

It is strictly forbidden to recruit into the army, and give promotions to, individuals of notoriously evil character and to delinquents under prison sentence or to those who are on trial.

Art. 673. Elementary and higher instruction shall be obligatory for all members of the national army who are not educated. Said instruction will be gratis and laical and will be

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given by the State without prejudice to military instruction, which must be received by all who are not engaged in the work of recruiting in such form and order as may be determined by the proper regulation.

*Note*

Art. 3. The Secretary of War will proceed to the prudent and gradual dismissal of the troops, to the end that on March 31, 1922, the effective forces of the national army will be reduced to 50,000 men.

President of the Republic,
A. OBREGON
Secretary of War and Navy,
E. ESTRADA

*Mexico, March 15, 1921*

# Army Manifestos

THE manifestos printed below were issued by soldiers and officers of the Mexican Army who are desirous of forming cooperative agricultural colonies with the assistance of the Government.

### THE APPEAL OF THE SOLDIERS

*To the Director of the Department of Colonization and Industry*

We, the undersigned, who form a part of the First Reserve of the National Army, and who are farmers by trade, declare to you with full respect that, desiring to be useful to our country and not wishing to be a constant charge upon the public treasury, believing that we have fulfilled our duty as revolutionary soldiers, and considering the fact that peace actually exists, without fear that the present order may change, we have decided that just as yesterday we took up arms to defend our rights, which we have fortunately preserved, and since the betterment of the country depends on work, so today we desire to take up the plow; and for this purpose we have resolved to form a union of revolutionary elements with the object of developing, by means of our labor, one of the estates actually at the disposal of the Federal Government.

The Federal authority is not unconscious of the relations that exist between us and the rest of the country, which judges us by its attitude toward all revolutionary elements, which is based not on our acts as such, but on acts of individuals with notoriously bad pasts, who drink heavily and under cover of the cause of liberty give free play to their criminal passions. And so when we, strong workers, try to return, we find all doors closed against us—we are faced with *civil death*. For which reason, we turn to the Federal Government, asking from it the aid that we need; and we also inform this Government that we do not see how we can satisfy the needs of our families without the aid which we seek; if we do not obtain help we shall find ourselves in the most wretched circumstances. In view of the fact that what we had before throwing ourselves into the armed struggle we naturally had to spend for our families, and in view of what we have said above, it can be seen that we have now no credit with which to start our work, and consequently no means of livelihood. This subsidy for the establishment of the colony will be a guaranty to society and a stimulus to our comrades in arms, since it will show that the Government gives facilities to men of good-will, who, in devoting their energies to work, will be useful to society and to their country, instead of being a burden upon it. Moreover, if the Government will favor us by granting what we ask, it will put an end to the idleness of many individuals who used the revolution as a means of livelihood, who have not realized that the country needs productive elements for its progress, and who are, therefore, a constant menace to the society in which they live. Furthermore, as the Federal authority knows, each one of our members, in his own sphere of activity, has worked for the consolidation of the present Government, which justifies our feeling that setting us on the road of labor will be for the welfare of the country. This is especially true since what we ask is to be no longer a burden upon the public treasury, inasmuch as all the materials at our disposal for a period to be fixed by the Government will be paid for in such a way that neither the colonies nor the nation will suffer.

With the assurance of our support, we have the honor to extend to you, once again, our loyalty and respect.

SIGNED BY THE COLONISTS

### THE OFFICERS' MANIFESTO

We, the undersigned, have the honor to make to the personnel of the First Reserve of the Army an appeal for the formation of one or more agricultural colonies, on the national lands and estates now owned by the Government, because we believe that this form of work is the only thing which can save the country and assure the future of our families, and because we are convinced that the time will come when the nation will not be able to sustain the number of military units it is now supporting. We feel that as we were the first to take up arms to defend the rights of our people, so we should be the first to return to the use of the plow which gives life to the nation and honor to its inhabitants.

*Mexico, D. F., February 25, 1921*

In the City of Mexico, D. F., on March 1, 1921, there assembled in No. 2 Palmer Street, the undersigned, chiefs and officers of the First Reserve of the Army, who proposed the formation of a military agricultural colony, and received from the commission appointed on the 18th of last month, the following information: "On the 25th of last month we were received by the President of the Republic, to whom we explained the purposes of the corporation in a most detailed manner, and we obtained the promise of the Chief Executive to aid us in this work and his congratulations for the whole group which we represent. After seeing General Antonio Villareal to find out what lands were at the disposal of the Department of Agriculture, we told the President that we wanted to send a commission to study these lands and decide for us on the most suitable one, and that since we lacked the resources to carry out this work, we should like to count on his aid, which would consist in providing the money and means to cover the expenses of the commission. The President agreed to help us. This ended the interview and convinced us that the President not only sympathized with our idea but made it his own, for he had asked us to extend it to the whole army. He authorized us to give to the press the facts of our interview with him. On the 28th of last month he received us again and we showed him a report on the properties owned by the nation. Again he promised to help us in every way he could."

In view of this information it was decided to appoint a commission to examine the lands, and the following members were agreed upon: Brigadier General Roman Bonilla, Colonels Nestor Arana, Porfirio Sanchez, and Emeterio Guerra, and Lieutenant Colonel Juan Rivera, who were informed that the object of the commission was to visit the lands indicated by the Secretary of Agriculture and to choose the one most suitable to our needs. It was decided to create a commission for propaganda and for the regulation of any matters relating to our project. Since there was no other business, the votes were taken, resulting in the appointment of the following members: Colonel Edward Royo, Major Manuel Viniegra, First Captains Pedro Velasquez and Alberto Herrera, Second Captain Ezequiel Torres, and Second Lieutenant Nicolas Lundes. The meeting was then adjourned.

The plans of the officers were accepted and fifteen government haciendas were put at the disposal of the officers for a beginning. The Government, however, added three conditions to the officers' plans:

1. That all military rank disappear in the colonies;
2. That the products of the colonies be offered in all cases to workers' cooperatives or directly to their organizations

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in case they have no cooperatives because "it is the duty of these military cooperatives to help the city proletariat";

3. That any officer member of the colony who misbehaves or refuses to become a good cooperator be returned to the army with the rank he held *as a punishment.*

## The Organization of the Colony

A SUMMARY of the basis for the formation of the agricultural colony, to be called the "First Reserve," follows.

1. This colony shall be formed by forty or more individuals, according to the size and value of the property.

2. To be a member of this colony, one must be well known as a revolutionary, have some agricultural knowledge, be honest, and submit to all the regulations relating to the colony.

3. Without ceasing to belong to the First Reserve of the National Army, we constitute a rural agricultural colony, and we shall continue to be paid for two years only, after which time we should begin to see the fruits of our labor, provided the other members of this institution live up to their obligations.

4. We are to be allotted land, either public or private, at a satisfactory price, as well as implements, seeds, etc., necessary for agriculture, live stock of all kinds, and the most modern equipment, only on condition that the value of the property be not less than two hundred thousand pesos, provided that the number of colonists does not exceed fifty.

5. The Secretary of Agriculture is to allot to us a part of the public lands, the location, price, and grade of which are to be determined by a commission appointed for the purpose.

6. The property sold to us is to be estimated at its statistical value, plus a charge for interest.

7. The value of the property, as well as of the implements, seeds, etc., and the amount of the subsidy for general expenses, is to form a debt to be paid off in annual amounts after the first year of labor, within a period of not less than twenty years.

8. When the problem of installing the colony is once solved, we are to be granted allowances for five or six persons, who shall constitute the commission for the revision and examination of the estates with the object of designating the most suitable one, this commission to determine the subsidy needed to cover its own expenses as well as those of subsequent commissions to be established by the colony.

9. For security in the regions where the property is situated, we are to be given arms and munitions to be used to guard our lives and property, and to be ready to give military aid when ordered by the Government.

### Additions

A. For the payment of our wages, a paymaster is to be named who shall make the payments at the colony.

B. Schools are to be established for the inhabitants of the colony, and we are all to be given books on agriculture, to instruct us in our work and to stimulate progress, and we are to make a library of them.

C. We are to have a doctor with his medicines.

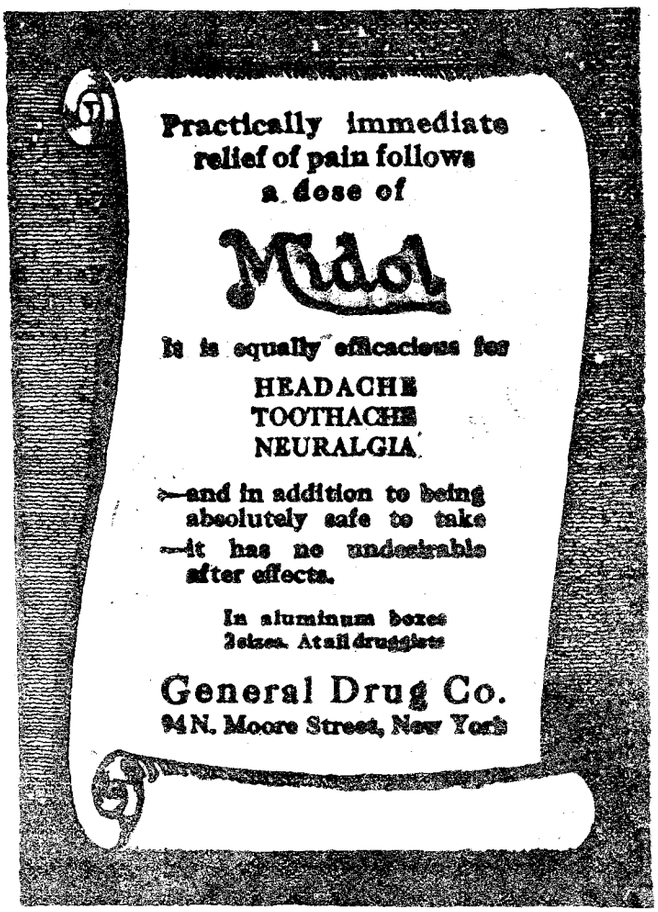
D. Free transportation is to be granted to our families from their present place of residence to the new colony.

E. The colony is to be allowed to appoint some of its members as representatives to cooperate with the civil authorities.

F. In case our proposition is accepted, we respectfully ask that the necessary steps be taken to put it in practice, with attention to our needs and the pressure of time, for we wish to carry it out very soon.

### Form in which the Debt for the Agricultural Colony is to be Paid

1. If the debt is $200,000 for the property, and $50,000 for the implements, seeds, and other expenses, the total debt will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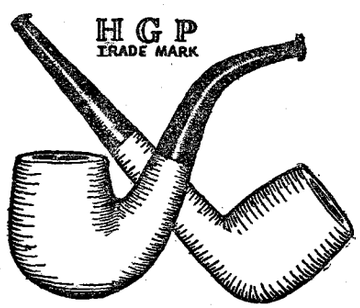


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amount to $250,000, which will be paid by the fifty colonists.

2. This debt shall be divided into amounts of $5,000 for each member, to be paid in twenty years in payments of $250 a year, making a total of $12,500 which will be paid back each year.

3. In order to avoid any injury to the properties placed at the disposal of the colonists, the Federal Government may appoint someone to inspect the operations of the colony, or the colony can submit a detailed report at the end of each year.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE COLONISTS DURING THE TWO YEARS IN WHICH THEY FORM PART OF THE FIRST RESERVE

1. To guarantee against banditry the region wherein the property is situated, to protect the interests of the colony, and to be prepared for any service ordered by the Government.

2. Not to permit any colonist to leave the corporation without having paid the sum total of his contracted debt.

CONSIDERATIONS

We call the attention of the Government to the fact that in asking to form part of the First Reserve for two years, we desire support for our families until we have time to see the fruits of our labors.

Since our families have suffered untold privations during the seven years that the struggle has lasted, we feel that they have a right at least to the necessities of life.

We extend to you our most distinguished consideration and esteem.

*Mexico, D. F., February 25, 1921.*

## Regulations for Members of the Colony

THE plan for the formation of the "First Reserve" includes regulations for all persons making up the colony. These regulations appear below.

1. It is absolutely necessary for anyone wishing to belong to the colony to possess the qualities of morality necessary for all who are obliged to live in society, as well as to enjoy all his faculties, so that he may not be hindered from carrying out any work assigned to him by the Board of Directors.

2. For the favorable progress of the work of the colony, a Board of Directors shall be appointed from the members, to which the rest shall be subject, and whose orders relative to work and administration shall be respected. The Board of Directors shall be composed of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, an assistant-secretary, a treasurer, an assistant-treasurer, only three possessing votes.

POWERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. To convoke a general assembly whenever deemed convenient and when the necessities of labor demand.

2. To distribute work among the colonists in accordance with their knowledge and ability, as well as to supervise the execution of all measures undertaken, making sure that no work is neglected for any reason whatsoever which affects the interests of the colony.

3. The program of work shall be intrusted to various commissions at the beginning of each week, and announced publicly to all the colonists, and none of the members of the colony shall modify the said program of his own accord, but when a change may be necessary under special circumstances it shall be made by agreement with the Board of Directors.

4. To care for the well-being, progress, and welfare of the colony in general, providing that, in case of accident to, or illness of, any one of the colonists, efficient attention be given him, and that he receive all the necessary supplies, which shall be in charge of a section of the reserve created within the colony.

5. Secret meetings are prohibited. To keep all colonists constantly informed regarding the needs and progress of the colony the Board of Directors will always keep its books and documents up-to-date so that when any colonist wishes to have any data it may be supplied to him as well as to the Departments of State.

6. For no reason shall the Board of Directors permit the removal or destruction of any property, or the sale of products without its authorization, since the only authority responsible for all that the land produces and all operations which are to be undertaken, besides the Board of Directors, is the unanimous will of the members of the colony attested by their signatures.

7. When the Board of Directors finds a colonist who does not obey orders, who becomes habitually intoxicated, or who is a reckless character, and in any way molests another colonist, and also if any trouble of an economic nature arises among the colonists, the Board of Directors shall meet and constitute itself a council of justice, and if the judgment against one or more colonists is severe enough for dismissal, an act of dismissal shall be passed and shall be referred to the Department of the First Reserve, a higher body.

8. For the execution of the preceding article, the Board of Directors shall be careful to keep constant watch over the conduct of each one of the colonists, so that when occasion arises it can do its work with absolute justice—as it must set an example of morality as well as of labor.

9. When a colonist is dismissed on account of misbehavior the colony must see that he is compensated for the amount of money which he has actually given, so that he will lose only the labor which he has performed, and only if he is destitute, will the amount needed for transportation to the place where he wishes to settle be given to his family.

10. Causes for which the Board of Directors shall ask the dismissal of colonists are: pillage and theft; continual and offensive drunkenness; acts of any character which would be obstacles to the favorable progress of the colony.

11. The Board of Directors shall not permit any colonist to cease work without due cause for a period of more than fifteen days; though in case of necessity, he can take all the time he needs, if he leaves a person in his place who can perform his work to the satisfaction of the Board.

12. In order that the Board of Directors may be able to render an annual account, it shall keep a memorandum of work accomplished during its tenure of office, as well as one for each individual member.

13. The Board of Directors shall take care that, in the interior regulation of the colony, military rank is not taken into account in the performance of labor, since in this every one should be on an equal footing, working for the common good.

14. The Board of Directors shall see to it that whenever feasible all questions of consumption of goods in the colony, and matters involving considerable expense, shall be discussed by the colonists, in order to promote the welfare of the colony in general.

15. As one of the aims of the colony project is to help also the city proletariat, the products shall not be sold to storekeepers, but in the principal places of the Republic, markets shall be established where the products will be sold without competition, so that the consumers in general will benefit, and the colony can at the same time sell its merchandise more profitably than it could to merchants.

16. All the undertakings which, after due consideration, it proposes shall be investigated by properly qualified persons before they are put into practice. . . .

20. The Board of Directors shall not accept any debt, nor can it contract one, with private individuals. Such action would be cause for asking it to resign and immediately appointing another to take up the responsibilities of the outgoing Board. . . .

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## The New Secretary of Labor

THE duties usually performed by a Secretary of Labor have heretofore, in Mexico, been assumed by various other secretariats, to the consequent confusion and neglect of this important phase of the government.

CONSIDERING, That among the economic questions of great importance which now occupy the attention of legislators and statesmen are found those relating to labor in its many and varied aspects; and that the social, political, and moral problems which these questions have brought up are of such magnitude that in reality the social problem which so fundamentally concerns the governments of the civilized world reduces itself clearly and completely to the lawful regulation of labor and to the complete determination of the rights and prerogatives of the laboring class, from the humble peasant of the fields to the technician or professional man who solves the most difficult problems of human life; and that, on the other hand, it is well-known that the conflict between capital and labor presents very serious incidents of a political and legal nature which profoundly affect the economics of society, and to solve these troubles a detailed knowledge of their various inter-related questions is needed, as well as possession of data which only offices created for that purpose can supply;

CONSIDERING, That the economic and moral situation of the workers which exists in the Republic makes it especially necessary for the government to go to their aid and to secure their betterment in the various spheres of human activity, particularly because modern public law has definitely placed upon the state the obligation of forming institutions established for the improvement of the worker's condition and the raising of his intellectual and moral level; and that to realize the former it is necessary to create the office of a secretary of labor whose duties will be the study and solution of the aforesaid economic problems and the administrative organization of the various offices by means of which the aspirations of the proletariat will be satisfied, and the much desired economic equilibrium established between capital and labor;

THEREFORE, In view of the importance and complexity of all the matters which we have mentioned, the need is indisputable for creating a new branch of the executive power whose duties will lie particularly in that field, which will undoubtedly bring greater efficiency and skill to the solution of all the questions pertaining to labor, so that our laws may respond to the actual demands of the times, and for establishing the office of Secretary of Labor which already exists in the great European nations.

From the foregoing considerations it is decreed:

Article 1. The office of Secretary of Labor shall be created, whose administrative function shall be to provide for everything which relates to the rights and obligations of the worker and to the aid which is due him from the state.

Art. 2. The Secretary of Labor shall have jurisdiction over workmen's compensation, courts of conciliation and arbitration, strikes and lockouts, chambers of labor, workers' associations and syndicates, savings banks, societies, especially cooperatives, and consumers' leagues, labor funds, professional associations, labor contracts, apprenticeship and technical instruction, workers' legislation, and statistics of occupations.

*Notes*

1. The duties which are now vested in the various state secretaries and those which, by the terms of this law, pertain to the Secretary of Labor shall from this time on be vested in the latter.

2. This law will go into effect from the date of publication.

A. OBREGON

ZUBARAN,

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